# Markan Typology:
# Miracle, Scripture and Christology
# in Mark 4:35–6:45

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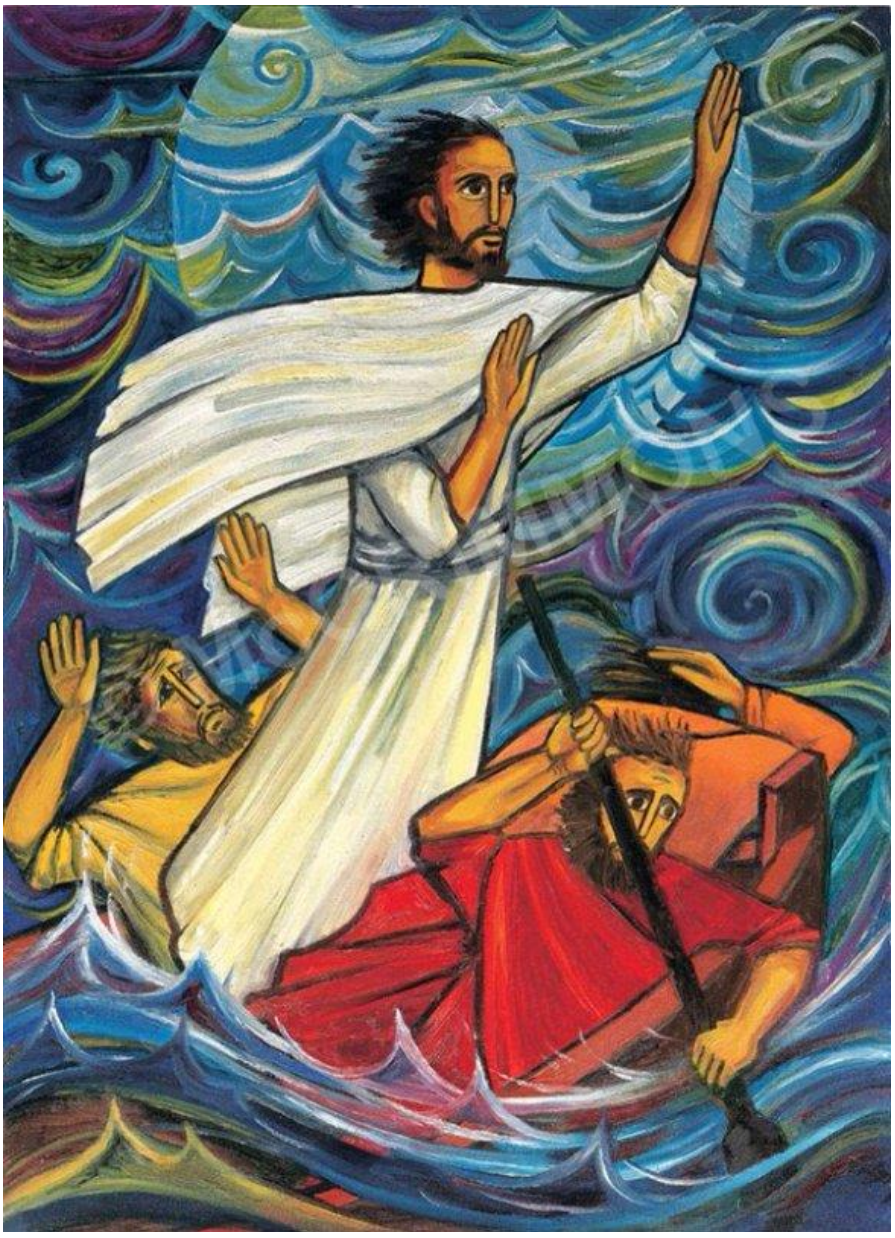



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**Abstract**

In this thesis I will argue for the presence of typological use of scripture in the composition of four adjacent miracle accounts in Mark's Gospel (4:35-41; 5:1-20; 5:21-43; 6:30-45). I will argue that these miracle accounts make deliberate and sustained use of literary narrative allusion to corresponding miracle accounts from the Jewish scriptures. While some of these allusions have been suggested before, this study argues for hitherto unnoticed allusions, as well as a consistent compositional approach within Mark's Gospel over several miracles. These miracle accounts contain verbal, narrative and thematic correspondences that, I will argue, are best explained by the presence of a scriptural typology. This compositional approach, which is here called *literary typology*, also reveals underlying theological and Christological convictions. These convictions situate Mark's Jesus firstly as the denouement of salvation history through, what I will call, *fulfilment typology*; and secondly identify him to an unprecedented extent with the God of Israel, which is expressed by, what I will call, *theomorphic typology*.

Following an introductory chapter, it will be argued that elements of this typological approach are evident in several early Jewish texts prior to or contemporaneous with Mark, in order to demonstrate the historical plausibility of Mark employing such an approach. Then, four exegetical chapters will argue for these literary, fulfilment and theomorphic typologies in the four miracle accounts considered. These will suggest extended typological allusions to the scriptural narratives of Jonah, David, Elisha and Moses. They will also discuss the hermeneutical significance of recognising each miracle's implicit typology. Then, a chapter will argue that this typological approach to scripture use is congruent with scripture use in other significant episodes of Mark's Gospel, even if it does not follow exactly the same pattern. Finally, the results of this study will be considered within the contemporary "early high Christology" debate, focussing especially on the work of Richard Bauckham and Daniel Kirk. The applicability of their respective early Jewish paradigms of "divine identity" and "exalted human figures" to the Gospel of Mark will be evaluated. The study will conclude that the presentation of Jesus in Mark's Gospel is best understood according to its own categories and not according to those distilled from the diverse corpus of extant early Jewish writings. Thus, this thesis seeks to make an original contribution to the scholarly understanding of miracles, use of scripture, and Christology in the Gospel of Mark.

**Acknowledgements**

Heartfelt thanks go to Paul Trebilco and James Harding, my supervisors for this project, from whom I have learned a huge amount and who have both continually challenged me to improve my work at the same time as encouraging me that my work was worth doing! The Theology Program at Otago was a fantastic place to study and the collegiality of both staff and students greatly contributed to a positive experience of doing the PhD. Friday afternoon seminars, usually followed by trip to the pub, were a real highlight, as were our lunchtime German and Greek translation groups. I will not mention you all by name, but you know who you are, and thanks. A special mention does go to Jason Picard who shared, not one, but three different offices with me over the last 3 years and was a model office mate. Deane Galbraith from the Religion Program at Otago also took a welcome interest in my work and parts of the thesis benefited from several conversations and suggestions from him. Finally, the library staff at Otago sourced many volumes and articles from around the world and in various languages for me and never once questioned any of my more obscure or esoteric requests.

The Otago University Doctoral Scholarship paid my fees and provided a stipend for the duration. Additional financial support from the university allowed me to attend a number of events. I am grateful to have presented my work outside the university at the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Biblical Studies, the British New Testament Society, the Australia and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools, Carey Baptist College, Laidlaw College, Bishopsdale College and Alpha Crusis. At each one I've appreciated the encouragement and critique of fellow scholars – again, you know who you are.

Unbeknownst to me, the journey to the PhD probably started at Carey Baptist College in 2006 where Martin Sutherland, Myk Habets, George Wieland and Paul Windsor were all various shades of inspiring and encouraging. It was George Wieland who supervised my 2010 Masters thesis on 1 Corinthians and this became my stepping stone to the PhD.

A number of my church family at Musselburgh Baptist Church are distinguished academics in different fields, and I was frequently encouraged in my work by their interest, prayers and support – especially when facing the vagaries of peer review!

I would also like to thank my darling Rachel, who said "yes" to this opportunity and to bringing the family on an adventure to Dunedin. Both in-law and out-law parents supported us morally and financially over this time – thanks to them. I would also like to acknowledge

my beloved children, Charlotte, Katherine, Elisha and Lucy, who made everything more difficult for me, but also a lot more fun. I reassure the reader that my family were not harmed or inconvenienced in the making of this PhD – it was certainly the other way round.

In the final push Winsome Parnell and Cameron Coombe did yeoman like service in proofreading and hugely improved the manuscript. It was an absolute privilege to have my thesis examined by Craig Evans, Sarah Harris and Graham Twelftree. Their insights and comments were and are invaluable. I am sure I do not need to point out that, despite the group effort nature of this thesis, all remaining mistakes, errors, blind spots, pig-headedness, split infinitives, oddities, convolutions, gaps-in-the-literature, distortions, grammatical inconcinnities and semantic abominations are my entirely my own.

Studying the Bible is a natural outgrowth of my Christian faith, which I received through my parents, and have continued to make my own over the last four decades. The germ of this project was a sermon on Jonah 1 at Blockhouse Bay Baptist Church in Auckland. A number of Jonah commentaries pointed out the similarity to the storm stilling in Mark 4:35-41. What was the connection between Jonah and Jesus and what did it mean? When the time came to put together a thesis proposal, this was the one idea that appealed. I could not have known what a fruitful line of enquiry it would turn out to be. At points in this project I have felt a sense of divine guidance and inspiration, at others I have felt strong doubts and confusion. I have mixed feeling about bringing this project, or at least this stage of it, to an end. They do say, "A PhD is never finished, only abandoned"! I certainly do not claim divine inspiration for my work, but I do want to give thanks for the experience of God's guidance, sustenance and prevenient grace during this time. If there is anything useful, insightful or beneficial in my work, I give the credit to God's goodness.

Having witnessed Jesus calm a storm, the terrified disciples ask, "Who is this?" The mystery of Jesus Christ's identity continues to intrigue both believer and sceptic today. This thesis solves no such mystery, but it does discover new ways of appreciating how that mystery is presented in Mark's Gospel. It has been a fun journey for me and if you should read this project, I hope it will be for you too. Thanks for reading. Pax vobis.

**Jonathan Robinson, Dunedin, NZ, July 2020.**

**Contents**

NB. Abbreviations follow the SBL Style Guide, second edition.

## §1 Introduction

*History never repeats itself, but the kaleidoscopic combinations of the pictured present often seem to be constructed out of the broken fragments of antique legends*.[1]

### §1.1 The Thesis Question

Leonhard Goppelt, in his seminal work on New Testament typology, remarks regarding the Gospels that "On the whole, it is impossible to detect that the OT miracle stories have had any significant influence on Jesus' saving acts or on the Gospel accounts."[2] Subsequent scholarship has not accepted this conclusion and the influence of the Jewish scriptures on miracles recounted in the NT has continued to be discussed, with varying results.[3] This thesis seeks to break new ground by arguing for a consistent approach to the use of scripture in the composition of four adjacent miracle accounts in Mark's Gospel (4:35-41; 5:1-20; 5:21-43; 6:30-45). I will argue that these have been modelled on corresponding miracle stories from the Jewish scriptures. This compositional method, which I will call *literary typology*, also reveals theological and Christological convictions. These situate Jesus of Nazareth as the

[1] Samuel L. Clemens and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of To-Day* (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company, 1874), 430.

[2] Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald M. Madvig (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 73.

[3] Following George Brooke ('New Perspectives on the Bible and Its Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, WUNT 2. 35 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009], 21–22), and from the perspective of the Gospel of Mark, written long before the formation of the New Testament, the terminology of 'Old Testament' is inappropriate. Likewise, the expressions 'Bible' and 'Biblical' impose 'on pre-canonical data a canonical label that implies a place in a closed list of books.' Instead, the terms 'Jewish scripture' and 'scripture' will be employed to refer to 'Israel's traditions that had both general and focussed authority at various times.' On this, see also Thomas L. Thompson, '4QTestamonia and Bible Composition: A Copenhagen Lego Hypothesis', in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson, JSOTSup 290 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 262–63; Rikki E. Watts, 'Rethinking Context in the Relationship of Israel's Scriptures to the NT: Character, Agency and the Possibility of Genuine Change', in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 165; Dennis L. Stamps, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament as a Rhetorical Device: A Methodological Proposal', in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006), 11.

denouement of salvation history through, what I will call, *fulfilment typology*. And they identify him to an unprecedented extent with God, which is expressed by, what I will call, *theomorphic typology*. These terms are defined below.

Having established the presence of a theomorphic typology in the selected Markan miracle accounts, a substantial chapter will be devoted to analysing this presentation of Jesus' divinity (§8). That is, to examine how far this narrative presentation of Jesus acting as God allows us to assert Jesus' divinity with reference to conceptions of divinity that were operating in Jewish literature in the milieu of Mark's Gospel. This chapter will require extensive engagement with some key figures in the contemporary early high Christology debate, especially Richard Bauckham (and Richard Hays' use of Bauckham) and Daniel Kirk. These scholars have used Mark's Gospel within their respective arguments and their results regarding Mark are called into question by this study. I will conclude that neither divine identity (Bauckham, Hays) nor idealised human figures (Kirk) are sufficient or accurate categories for Mark's presentation of Jesus in the miracle accounts. Rather, Mark's presentation of Jesus is extraordinary precisely because, with the exception of Mark 9:1-7, it lacks those visual markers of divinity (e.g., radiating light) that are present in Jewish texts which portray or discuss ontological divinity. For Mark, Jesus' particular and historical human life and actions personifies God, yet Jesus' fundamental humanity is not altered. Thus Mark's Jesus demands a new category of divinity in humanity that is not derivable from earlier Jewish writings. Instead, we must work to derive our categories from Mark's own account.

This study will thus contribute to the discussion of Mark's use of scripture and to the debate over the nature of Mark's Christology. I hope that it will complement other studies on NT typology and contribute to our awareness of early Christian typology. Indirectly, it may also contribute to current discussions regarding figurative exegesis and theological interpretation for contemporary Christian theology in church and academy.[4]

[4] E.g. Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974); David Steinmetz, 'The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis', *Theology Today* 37 (1980): 27–38; George A. Lindbeck, *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Post-Liberal Age* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox,

## §1.2 What Is Typology and Why Would Mark Use It?

Typology is a contested term with various definitions. It is important to recognise that the term *typology* as a description of a hermeneutical practice of the New Testament is to some extent anachronistic. It did not become a technical term until much later, and the way it is often used in modern discourse in opposition to *allegory* (i.e. a symbolic use of the words of a text without concern for their literal or historical meaning) is still more anachronistic.[5] Nonetheless, use of the term *typology* in this study follows the definition of Frances Young: "'typology' may be usefully used as a heuristic term to distinguish interpretive or compositional strategies which highlight correspondences, not just at the verbal level, but at the level of mimetic sign."[6]

Young builds her understanding of typology on the work of Michael Fishbane, who writes,

> . . . inner-biblical typologies constitute a literary-historical phenomenon which isolates perceived correlations between specific events, persons, or places early in time with their later correspondents. . . they will never be precisely identical with their prototype, but inevitably stand in a *hermeneutical* relationship with them.[7]

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1984), 99–110; Daniel J. Treier, 'The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis? Sic et Non', *Trinity Journal* 24 (2003): 77–103; Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2016); Thomas J. Millay, 'Septuagint Figura: Assessing the Contribution of Richard B. Hays', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 70 (2017): 93–104.

[5] Frances Young, 'The Fourth Century Reaction against Allegory', in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 30 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 120; David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 15–17; Peter W. Martens, 'Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction: The Case of Origen', *JECS* 16 (2008): 283–317.

[6] Frances Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 200; Young's insight is also fruitfully utilised by Richard Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, WUNT 2. 328 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 4, 33.

[7] Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 351, emphasis original.

Likewise, Allison states that typology is "extended assimilation (of characters and events)" which can "convey much meaning."[8] Allison argues such assimilation can serve ethical, poetic and theological purposes.[9]

Young's definition is chosen here to avoid anachronistic categorical precision. For example, in commentaries on Galatians and 1 Corinthians debates over whether Paul employs allegory, typology, or analogy potentially miss the point.[10] These are not distinctions Paul would necessarily have made. When applied to ancient authors these distinctions create unnecessary and potentially misleading analytical categories.[11] Correspondences of all kinds were potentially significant and could be employed. Thus the term typology is here intended to be *heuristic*.

I am not claiming that Mark or any other ancient author thought of some of their scripture use as typological in opposition to any other method or approach.[12] As Richard Ounsworth writes,

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[8] Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1993), 13.

[9] Allison, *The New Moses*, 13–16.

[10] For examples of such debates, see Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Rev. Ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2014), 500; Ronald Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 217–19; Martinus C. De Boer, *Galatians*, NTL (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 295–97.

[11] This point has been repeatedly argued by Frances Young, 'The Rhetorical Schools and Their Influence on Patristic Exegesis', in *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, ed. R. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 188; idem, 'The Confessions of St Augustine: What Is the Genre of This Work? (The 1998 St Augustine Lecture)', *Augustinian Studies* 30 (1999): 7; idem, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 189–76; 'Allegory and Atonement', *Australian Biblical Review* 35 (1987): 113; idem, 'The Fourth Century Reaction against Allegory', 120.

[12] Here, and throughout this study, "Mark" denotes the Gospel's implied author. This expression "serves as a way of describing or even personifying the text and is a summary of the kinds of things the text itself reveals . . . [It] focuses on the 'intention' of the text rather than on the conscious intent of the flesh-and-blood author or composer" (John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* [Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2005], 20). What I intend to show, over the course of the thesis, is that the texts of four of Mark's miracles are suggestive of a consistent approach to their composition using language, themes and structures of their scriptural counterparts in a Christologically meaningful way. While, for the sake of readable prose, I will attribute this to "Mark"

typology "describes a mode of relationship between events, persons, places and practices that they [the original NT audience] would have been able to infer, whether or not they would have labelled it 'typology.'"[13] Rather, I am claiming that Mark and other ancient writers used *correspondences* between characters and events in their narratives and characters and events in earlier scriptural narratives as part of a *compositional strategy*. This *compositional strategy* was also an act of scripture *interpretation* and thus meaningful to the author, not a simple borrowing of otherwise unconnected sources.

*In this limited sense a Markan* type *is a correspondence between persons or events in the Gospel with persons or events from scripture which Mark has used in the composition of the Gospel and which can be expected to contain hermeneutical significance.*

This typological approach was integral to much scripture composition and interpretation found in the Jewish writings of the Second Temple period.[14] Thus it would be natural for Mark to employ an approach which was visible in the scriptures and in the religious and wider cultural environment. As Christopher Stanley argues, most Jewish and Christian scripture use "is part of a broader argument designed to convince others to believe or act in a certain way."[15] As with other scripture usage in the Gospel, Mark would have used typology rhetorically to further the agenda of the Gospel.[16]

Once typology is identified as a literary feature (literary typology) it becomes possible, and desirable, to be more precise in recognising how and why that typology is being employed. As Ounsworth argues, for the ancient author the "verbal" correspondence is of less

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I do not thereby foreclose the question of whether this consistent approach is the work of an individual author or editor, a group, a traditioning process, spiritual or religious inspiration, or a combination of some or all. In this study, Mark is the author that the work implies and may or may not correspond to a historical person or persons. See also Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, Word 34A (Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 1989), xix; Camille Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, trans. Leslie Robert Keylock (Eugene, Or.: Pickwick, 2012), 3.

[13] Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 4.

[14] As will be discussed in the following chapter.

[15] Christopher D. Stanley, 'The Rhetoric of Quotations: An Essay on Method', in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scripture of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 44.

[16] '[I]ntertextual exchanges usually enlarge meaning.' Dale C. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (London: Trinity Press International, 2000), 189.

importance than the "real" or "ontological" correspondence.[17] One such relationship emerges from "the shape of salvation history" as it "is formed by the nature of God and his providential love for his people."[18] Meaningful similarities between God's salvific actions could be inferred by early Jews without being first associated in a text.[19] Correspondences "are not created, as it were artificially, by a literary device, but only brought to light by verbal similarities."[20] Thus we can look beyond the literary effect to what real relationship connects the types. Such real relationships can exist in a variety of ways.

Michael Goulder has argued that typology takes three explicit forms in the NT.[21] What Goulder terms "scriptural types" are when scriptural characters or events are shown to correspond to NT characters and events. For example, Adam corresponds to Christ (Rom 5:12-21) and Elijah corresponds to John the Baptist (Mark 9:13). Then there are "types within a Gospel". For example, in John the resurrection of Lazarus (John 11) corresponds to the raising of Christ (John 20), and in Luke the transfiguration (Luke 9:28-36) corresponds to the ascension (Luke 24:50-53; Acts 1:9-11).[22] In Mark, John the Baptist's passion (Mark 6:14-29) corresponds to that of Jesus (9:11-13).[23] Finally, Goulder discusses "eschatological types" where NT events anticipate events still to come. For example, the last supper anticipates the messianic banquet (Mark 14:25) and the resurrection of Christ anticipates the resurrection of the church (1 Cor 15:12-20). All three of the kinds of typology identified by Goulder are thus visible in Mark's Gospel. This demonstrates the extent to which typological thinking pervades the Gospel.

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[17] To avoid confusion with discussions of Jesus' divine ontology later in this study, the terminology of "real" typology will be preferred. That is, to indicate a typological correspondence that could be perceived by an early Jewish Christ-believer to exist in fact, with or without a literary correspondence to indicate it.

[18] Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 6.

[19] As will be demonstrated in §2 below.

[20] Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 4.

[21] M. D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964), 1.

[22] For one analysis of Mark's inner-Gospel typology see the work of Goulder's mentor, Austin Farrer, *A Study in St Mark* (Westminster: Dacre, 1951).

[23] Ernest Best, *The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology*, 2nd ed., SNTSMS 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 119–20; Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, HThKNT 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1979), 1.344.

This study is concerned with the first category, typology of scriptural characters and events. Goulder's terminology, however, is not specific enough for my purposes. A scriptural typology may be a typology of *recurrence*, when situations or characters resemble previous ones, e.g. the succession of deliverers in the book of Judges (e.g. Judg 3:7-11, 12-30) or the way that Elisha's miracles emulate Elijah's (e.g. 1 Kgs 17:17-24; 2 Kgs 4:18-37). These later types do not, however, imply that the first type (*prototype*) has reached its culmination in the latter occurrence (as an *antitype*). Often, the recurrence is of a weaker variety: for example, the kings that emulated their ancestor David (1 Kgs 15:11; 2 Kgs 18:13; 22:2).

Because Jesus is not simply another Adam in an ongoing line of Adams, but is the "last Adam" (Rom 5:12-21), and because John is not the latest Elijah in a recurring sequence, but is the eschatological fulfilment of the scriptural promise that Elijah will come (Mark 9:13), this is more than a simple recurrence. The recurrence is one of escalation. Jesus is Adam's antitype and John is Elijah's.[24] The last is greater than the first. These can thus be termed *fulfillment* typology. The typology has reached its climactic conclusion in its antitype.

The conept of fulfilment applies when Jesus is presented as the antitype of a scriptural character like Moses or David. However, I will argue that sometimes Jesus is presented in the narrative role of God. In such circumstances Jesus cannot be said to be God's antitype. Instead the literary typology alerts us to an identification of Jesus with God, an assimilation of Jesus' narrative form to the narrative form of the divine Lord in the scriptures. This is best understood not as an escalation or fulfilment, but as a *theomorphic* typology in which the Gospel narrative causes Jesus to resemble God.[25] Recurrence and fulfilment typologies take place on a horizontal plane, within history. Theomorphic typology, although in literary terms it relates Jesus to past events, serves to relate Jesus to the God of Israel. It creates a vertical typology, establishing Jesus as God's earthly counterpart much as the Temple cult could be considered an earthly counterpart to the worship of heaven (e.g. Isa 6:1-6; Heb 9:1-21; Rev 4:1-6; 8:1-5).

[24] With regard to John cf. Matt 11:11; Luke 7:28.

[25] "Theomorphic," that is, "having divine form : formed in the image of deity : endued with a divine aspect", https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/theomorphic, accessed 17/10/219; not to be confused with Theomorphism, the 5th century heresy, that the Son ceased to be God in the incarnation, described by Cyril of Alexandria. On which, see Daniel King, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Three Christological Treatises*, Fathers of the Church 129 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 44–46.

### *§1.2.1 The Theological Motivation for Typology*

Typology functions as an identifiable literary technique (literary typology) that is reflective of a particular interpretation of texts and/or events. Thus exegesis is not complete if we only identify typology as a literary feature without also seeking its "theological value," so that we do not only "enjoy Scripture's own artfulness," but "engage the Bible on its own hermeneutical terms."[26] While individual typologies will reflect specific concerns, the use of typology in itself is suggestive of certain theological assumptions.

There is an ethical-rhetorical function to typology whereby associations with an established authoritative figure can be transferred to the new one. This extends to the cultural authority of established scriptural texts.[27] The "perceived need to provide authority and legitimacy for a new work" is a recognised possible motivation for the use of older texts by later ones within the Hebrew Bible.[28] Likewise, Markan typology serves to situate Mark's account alongside the older Jewish scriptures, to "enlist" their "authority" and to "reinforce" Mark's own "content".[29] Importantly, such typology does not have to be explicit. Dawson argues "oblique,

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[26] Samuel Emadi, 'Intertextuality in New Testament Scholarship: Significance, Criteria, and the Art of Intertextual Reading', *Currents in Biblical Research* 14, no. 1 (1 October 2015): 21.

[27] See, e.g., Stamps, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament as a Rhetorical Device', 26–32.

[28] Steve Moyise, 'Concluding Reflections', in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 20.

[29] Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 130. See also Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria*, 2–3; Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 155; Steve Moyise, 'Intertextuality and the Study of the OT in the NT', in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 18–19; Moyise, 'Concluding Reflections', 20. A similar impulse can be seen in the Jewish scriptures. See, e.g., Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 148–50, 'If a new book, why a new book that looks like an old book? . . . Deuteronomy is stylized not as an overturning, revoking, breach, or alteration of previous Israelite law but rather as continuous with prior teachings and as called for from the very beginning . . . the authors of Deuteronomy sought sanction in authoritative or prestigious

sometimes nearly subliminal, echoes of the old story" can be the most effective in gaining the sympathy and support of the reader.[30] Mark wants to present the Gospel as a new authoritative text, which co-opts the authority of the scriptures (ethical typology).

Typology is also an understandable reflex when interpreting new situations and personalities.[31] To what else would a first-century Jew compare a new religious leader and significant events, either positively or negatively, other than to the characters and events

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texts for their innovations. They used the covenant code and other legal (and narrative) texts to anchor their program in Israelite tradition. Doing so lent their new vision prestige, credibility, authority, and continuity with a past that they both appropriated and disenfranchised.' See also Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 158, 'By weaving elements from older works into his new one, Deutero-Isaiah (like most allusive authors) avows that his work is as worthwhile as his predecessors. Inclusion of borrowed material helps him to claim his place in the prophetic tradition. Allusion furnishes a credential; it becomes a conduit through which Deutero-Isaiah draws on the authority of recognized works.'

[30] Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria*, 130; see also Bruce N. Fisk, *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo Philo*, JSPSup 37 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 109; Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 17, 33.

[31] The key events and person that Mark wrestles to interpret are the life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth (see Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* [Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1992]). The debates around whether Mark was composed before or after the destruction of the Temple, or whether the Gospel was written in Rome, Syria or Palestine, are to a large extent underdetermined by the text, hence the ongoing discussion. The literary features that this study is focused upon are not substantially affected by theories of date or provenance. Moreover, when turbulent current events have left such little impression on the text, it seems reasonable to conclude that the author is more concerned with preserving the gospel of Jesus Christ than commenting on his community's immediate situation (see Heinrich Baarlink, *Anfängliches Evangelium: ein Beitrag zur näheren Bestimmung der theologischen Motive im Markusevangelium* [Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1977], 196–97, 295; Richard Bauckham, 'For Whom Were Gospels Written?', in *Gospels for All Christians*, ed. Richard Bauckham [London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1998], 9–48).

described in their scriptures?[32] For Hays, in Paul's letters "resonant speech discovers typologies that interpret present experience through the language of predecessors."[33] Typology is thus one way of interpreting authoritative texts from another time for the author's present.[34] In parallel with legal language, a historical *precedent* is set by earlier types and so by analogy they may elucidate subsequent acts of God.[35] The use of typology allows recent, current, or future events to be identified with scriptural types, or, conversely, scriptural types can be specified or modernised by identification with recent, current, or future events (contemporising typology).

Typology may also reveal a belief in providence, a guiding hand on history, whose characteristic ways can be discerned by the faithful.[36] As Fishbane writes, typology "reveals unexpected unity in historical experience and providential continuity . . . [it is] a disclosure of the plenitude and mysterious working of divine activity in history."[37] Or put more simply by Allison, "when history's tumult throws up two things alike, they intimate a third thing, the cause of their likeliness—for the believer, God."[38] Indeed, Rikk Watts has argued that "the

[32] Francis Foulkes, 'The Acts of God: A Study of the Basis of Typology in the Old Testament', in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?: Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1994), 357.

[33] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 33; see also Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 48.

[34] Evans, "Typology," DJG, 862, "typology represents the effort to coordinate the past and present (and future) according to the major events, persons and institutions of scripture."

[35] Watts, 'Rethinking Context in the Relationship of Israel's Scriptures to the NT', 174.

[36] Evans, "Typology," DJG, 863, "Emphasis on the unity of Scripture and history is the distinctive of typological interpretation. What God has done in the past (as presented in Scripture), he continues to do in the present (or will do in the future)."

[37] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 352.

[38] Allison, *The New Moses*, 14–15; also George Lampe, 'Hermeneutics and Typology', *The London Quarterly & Holborn Review* 34 (1965): 18, 'Typology depends upon a particular interpretation of history, according to which the present is related to the past not merely by a process of development which, although the historian may discern in it a certain inner logic, could have happened otherwise, but by the consistent and unchanging will of a personal God.'

NT authors' fundamental hermeneutical assumption in reading scripture is the faithfulness of Yahweh's unchanging character."[39]

By using the scriptures as the subtext for Mark's own narrative it is not just the authority of the scriptures but their narrative arc that is invoked. The Gospel becomes a continuation of the Jewish scriptures. Heike Omerzu writes,

> Dass Jesus der 'geliebte Sohn' ist, der am Kreuz leiden musste, aber von den Toten auferweckt wurde, kann für Markus nicht (allein) angemessen durch Titel und Formeln ausgedrückt werden, vielmehr greift er auf den Modus der Erzählung zurück und stellt sich damit in die Tradition Israels. Er schreibt damit jüdische Geschichte – teils in unbedingter Zustimmung, teils in kritischer Distanz (vgl. Torahauslegung) – fort als Geschichte Jesu, die u.a. Teil der Geschichte des Elia, Mose und Jesaja ist, und konstituiert damit zugleich die Geschichte seiner Adressaten.[40]

For Mark, the recent and current events of Jesus and the early church are not novel occurrences but connected to types in sacred history that reveal the deeper meanings of particular events (fulfilment typology).[41]

### *§1.2.2 From Typology to Christology*

The author of Ephesians writes that God's plan (οἰκονομία) is being brought to fullness (πλήρωμα) as Christ's recapitulates (ἀνακεφαλαιόω) all things (Eph 1:10).[42] What is explicit in Ephesians may be implicit in the Gospel of Mark through the use of typology. In Mark's

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[39] Watts, 'Rethinking Context in the Relationship of Israel's Scriptures to the NT', 169.

[40] 'That Jesus is the "beloved Son" who suffered on the cross but was raised from the dead cannot be adequately expressed for Mark by titles and formulas alone; rather, he resorts to the narrative mode and thereby places himself in the tradition of Israel. He therefore updates Jewish history - partly in unconditional approval, partly in critical distance (see the interpretation of Torah) - as the story of Jesus, which amongst other things is part of the story of Elijah, Moses, and Isaiah, and thus at the same time constitutes the history of its addressees.' So Heike Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten: zur Bedeutung jüdischer Traditionen für die Jesusdarstellung des Markusevangeliums', *Early Christianity* 2 (2011): 99–100.

[41] This coheres with the use of typology described by, inter alia, Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 360; Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 199; Allison, *The New Moses*, 16.

[42] See also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer*. 3.16.6; 3.17.2; 3.24.1; 4.18.5. As discussed in J. T. Nielsen, *Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968), 56–67.

Gospel Jesus recapitulates key events of scripture. I will argue that he fulfils them, revealing that he is the decisive act of God's salvation-historical plan.

Markan fulfilment typology compares Jesus to previous biblical characters and compares his acts to earlier acts of God in salvation history. In doing so Mark presents Jesus as being in line with (cf. Gal 4:24, συστοιχέω) scriptural characters and events, to be superior to them, and to fulfil their deeper meaning – that is, their meaning in relation to the mythological substructure of the scriptures.[43]

Thus the theological motivation for typology extends to embrace Christological purpose, because the focus of Mark's scriptural typology is Jesus, his acts, and the events surrounding his ministry, death and resurrection. Jesus is shown to be the superlative example among God's servants, God's ongoing providence, the denouement of God's salvation-historical plan and the climax of the scriptural story.

However, even that last sentence fails to do justice to Mark's Jesus. When read typologically, I will argue, Mark's Jesus is identified, not just with God's plan, but with God himself. In the miracle accounts of Mark 4:35-6:44, Jesus is the one who commands wind and sea, the one in whose name battles are won, the one who heals his daughter Israel, and the one who gives miracle bread in the wilderness.

If fulfilment typology relates Jesus to the prior events of salvation history, then Jesus' narrative assimilation to the God of Israel from those same scriptures must be understood differently. Jesus can be the new David or the new Moses, but he cannot be the new God. Equally, Jesus can be a greater David or a greater Moses, but he cannot be a greater God of Israel – at least not without completely departing from Jewish monotheism.

What I hope to show is that we find in Mark a *theomorphic* typology, where Jesus is typologically presented in the corresponding narrative role, in a way, the narrative *form*, of God from the scriptural stories. The literary technique is the same as in fulfilment typology, but the hermeneutical import is harder to discern. In what sense does Mark's literary strategy reveal a divine Christology? Is it best described according to a paradigm of "divine

[43] R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 1971), 78–79; see also Craig A. Evans, 'Jesus and Zechariah's Messianic Hope', in *Authenticating the Activites of Jesus*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, vol. 2, NTTS, XXVIII (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 376–80.

identity"?[44] Or, is Jesus better understood as an "idealised human figure"?[45] How does a typological reading impact on the argument around Jesus' pre-existence in Mark?[46] Are our established ways of analysing a text's Christology appropriate for Mark? Considering these questions will be the focus of the last chapter of this thesis.

### §1.3 Why These Miracles?

This thesis will consider four miracle pericopae: the calming of the storm (Mark 4:35-41); the exorcism of Legion (5:1-20); the healing of Jairus' daughter and the woman in the crowd (5:21-43); and the feeding of the five thousand (6:30-45). They are selected for a variety of reasons. First, they are all extended narratives and so provide ample opportunity for typological crafting. Whereas in a short passage a typology may be present but will remain ambiguous due to the inevitably small number of correspondences, in these longer passages a stronger case can be made for typologies that are present throughout the episode.

Second, the chosen miracles bear an initial clear resemblance to a scriptural miracle: a calming of a storm, control of an evil spirit, a resurrection of a child, and a feeding of a multitude. As Rudolf Pesch observes, "Alle sind aus jüdischer bzw. judenchristlicher Perspektive erzält, haben einen deutlichen atl. Hintergrund, der in Anspielungen, Motivaufnahmen und insbesondere im Überbietungsmotiv erkennbar ist."[47] That is, the exegete does not have to search inventively for a corresponding story that might fit. There is an immediate surface correspondence. Later miracles are not as strongly suggestive of the scriptures, although they may well still contain correspondences.

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[44] Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 4.

[45] J. R. Daniel Kirk, *A Man Attested by God: The Human Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2016), 3–4.

[46] See, e.g., Michael F. Bird, *Jesus the Eternal Son: Answering Adoptionist Christology* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2017); Simon Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2006).

[47] 'All [these miracle stories] are told from a Jewish or Jewish Christian perspective, having a clear Old Testament background, which can be recognised in allusions, inclusion of motifs and especially in the motif of escalation.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.278.

Third, these stories occur together in the second quarter of the Gospel, leading up to the Christological confession of Peter (Mark 8:29).[48] It seems plausible, then, that they may have been positioned in the Gospel narrative in order to explain and give content to Peter's confession. Subsequently, as the Gospel continues, miracles have a more minor role.[49] In regards to Jesus' public works of power, these four constitute the climactic section.

Fourth, these four miracles are representative of all of Jesus' miracles. They cover the categories of healing, exorcism, nature and gift miracles.[50] As Rupert Feneberg states, "Die Reihe der Wunder enthält alle Bereiche der Welt und des menschlichen Lebens, in denen sich die umfassende Macht Gottes bewährt."[51] They are the longest and most detailed examples within the Gospel of their individual categories, the "Höhepunkte des Wunderwirkens Jesu."[52] They may well provide an interpretive key for the significance of miracles in Jesus' ministry in general.

Finally, these four miracles comprise the first pre-Markan catena of miracles identified by redaction critic Paul Achtemeier or, as my discussion will also include Mark 6:45-52 and 8:1-10, the six miracles of the "die vormarkinische Wundergeschichtensammlung" discussed by Pesch, and so may have existed as a unit prior to the composition of Mark's Gospel.[53]

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[48] For significance of Mark 8:39 see Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, xxxvi. There is no consensus as to Mark's outline, although many plausible outlines have been proposed (e.g., M. Eugene Boring, *Mark: A Commentary* [Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2006], 4–6; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002], 11–15; Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000], 62–64; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, EKK, II [Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1998], 1.25-32). A precise outline is not determinative for this study.

[49] '[N]owhere else in the gospel do we find such a group of spectacular miracles.' So Kathleen Fisher, 'The Miracles of Mark 4:35 - 5:43: Their Meaning and Function in the Gospel Framework', *BTB* 11 (1981): 14.

[50] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.279.

[51] 'The series of miracles contains all areas of the world and of human life in which the comprehensive power of God proves itself.' Rupert Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden: Biographie und Theologie Jesu im Markusevangelium*, HBS 4 (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 135.

[52] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.267.

[53] Paul J. Achtemeier, 'Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae', *JBL* 89 (1970): 291; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.277-281.

## §1.4 Miracle, Scripture, and Christology in Mark

### *§1.4.1 The Place of Miracle in Mark*

Miracles comprise the most prominent feature of the Markan narrative.[54] However, their function within the Gospel has frequently been disputed.

David Strauss argued that the miracles served to confirm Jesus' messianic identity, because in the Jewish context the messiah was expected to conform to "Old Testament types and declarations", particularly the miracles of Moses and Elisha and the prophecy of Isa 35:5-6.[55] While Strauss buttresses his claim with references to Matthew and John,[56] as Dunn has observed "[a]ccording to Mark, not one of the miracles performed publicly led the spectators to conclude that Jesus was the Messiah."[57] Additionally, it is disputed whether early Jewish messianic speculation, although it was by no means monolithic, expected the messiah to perform healings and exorcisms.[58]

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[54] By some counts, as much as 31% of the total Gospel material, or 47% of the material outside of the passion account is miracle stories. See Graham H. Twelftree, 'The Miracles of Jesus: Marginal or Mainstream?', *JSHJ* 1 (2003): 108 n19; Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker: A Historical and Theological Study* (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP Academic, 1999), 57; following Alan Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels* (London: SCM, 1941), 36. A more conservative estimate is produced by counting lines of text in Nestle-Aland, which produces 377 of 1430 total lines in the Gospel (26%) for miracle accounts and summaries, by comparison with 263/1430 (18%) for the passion account. See Reinold Schmücker, 'Zur Funktion der Wundergeschichten im Markusevangelium', *ZNW* 84 (1993): 3. Of course, such estimates are only indicative and depend on the method used to produce them.

[55] David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, trans. George Eliot (London: SCM Press, 1846), 413.

[56] Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 414–15.

[57] James D. G. Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark', *TynBul* 21 (1970): 94.

[58] Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 220–22; Howard Clark Kee, 'Christology in Mark's Gospel', in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, ed. Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest Frerichs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 187.

Rudolf Bultmann's form criticism understood Mark's miracles as depicting a Hellenistic "divine man" (θεῖος ἀνήρ) Christology that emphasized his supernatural power in order to appeal to a Greek religious world used to legends of powerful demi-gods.[59] However, the divine-man hypothesis of Ludwig Bieler which Bultmann employed has since been heavily criticized as lacking any historical basis.[60]

Redaction criticism sought to identify an authorial theology behind the Gospel's collection and arrangement of traditions. Following Theodore Weeden this miraculous divine-man Christology was usually pitted against another Markan theme, the suffering Son of Man and the cross, where the Gospel author used the latter to refute the former.[61] More recently, narrative criticism has rightly problematized the idea that the Gospel author presents a negative view of the miracles or that the miracles compete with or contradict other Christological themes in the Gospel. However, as Adam Winn argues, narrative critics have tended to downplay the Christological significance of the miracles and tend to focus on other aspects, such as characterization.[62]

This thesis will nuance Strauss's insight that the miracles were anticipated by "Old Testament types and declarations".[63] Contrary to Strauss, these particular types were not part of

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[59] Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendric Grobel (London: SCM, 1952), 1.131-32; see also Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1971), 96.

[60] Ludwig Bieler, *Theios Anēr: Das Bild des 'Göttlichen Menschen' in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967); for the most comprehesive critique see Barry Blackburn, *Theios Anēr and the Markan Miracle Traditions*, WUNT 2. 40 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991).

[61] The most prominent example of this is Theodore J. Weeden, *Mark: Traditions in Conflict* (Fortress Press, 1971). For further discussion see E. K. Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority: Miracles and Christology in the Gospel of Mark*, JSNTSup 74 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 17–21; Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 57–58.

[62] Adam Winn, *Reading Mark's Christology under Caesar: Jesus the Messiah and Roman Imperial Ideology* (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP Academic, 2016), 14–20. Examples of this emphasis on characterisation are Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *Mark's Jesus: Characterization as Narrative Christology* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor, 2014); David Rhoads and Donald Michie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (Philadelphia, Phil.: Fortress, 1982), 103–16.

[63] Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 413.

messianic expectation prior to Jesus. Rather, as the early church reflected on the life, death and resurrection of Jesus they interpreted these events through the Jewish scriptures, and vice-versa.[64]

Winn's recent attempt to demonstrate how the Christological themes of power and suffering in Mark's Gospel "find unity in the realm of Roman political ideology"[65] is convincing in terms of a historically-located reader-response for the first-century Christian community in Rome, but does not explain Mark's composition from an early Jewish perspective.[66] On the other hand, Winn is essentially correct in arguing that Jesus' suffering is given meaning by recognizing who it is that suffers and the recognition that such suffering is undergone willingly. As one of the Gospel's principal means of establishing Jesus's Christological identity, the miracles are an essential interpretive context for Jesus' trial under the Sanhedrin and execution by the Romans (Mark 14:43-15:39). They show that Jesus is not another tragic victim of religious and political forces, but the powerful Son of God and eschatological Son of Man who undergoes these events as the scriptures have foretold (Mark 14:21) and in accordance with his Father's will (14:36). As I hope to demonstrate, it is Mark's typological exegesis of the Jewish scriptures in which Mark's diverse Christological themes "find unity."

### *§1.4.2 Scripture in Mark and the Miracles*

Two critical and overlapping concerns in the study of Mark's Gospel are Mark's Christology and Mark's use of Scripture. Because the Gospel primarily uses the Jewish scriptures with

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[64] Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*; Martin Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM, 1976); Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*.

[65] Winn, *Reading Mark's Christology under Caesar*, 164.

[66] A shorter treatment of Mark's Gospel as a response to Roman imperial propaganda, but which gives more attention to Jewish traditions, is Craig A. Evans, 'The Beginning of the Good News and the Fulfilment of Scripture in the Gospel of Mark', in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006), 83–103. Arguably, however, Jewish Christ-believers would have been motivated to show that Jesus was the fulfilment of scripture with or without the need to counter imperial propaganda. This is not to deny this Roman background or its influence, but to place it in relation, as Evans does, to the ongoing tradition of scripture interpretation, rather than simply as an ad hoc response to current events.

regard to and as a way of interpreting Jesus, the Gospel's Christology and use of scripture are intimately connected.

Mark's use of scripture has been extensively studied. While Mark's explicit uses of scripture have received the most attention,[67] a significant issue has been the presence or absence of scriptural allusion especially in the Passion account. For example, the influence of Isaiah 53 on the Markan passion, despite the absence of clear quotations, has been vigorously argued and is accepted by many commentators.[68] The theme of "New Exodus" from Deutero-Isaiah is also argued by Watts to be a significant allusive background to much of the Gospel.[69] However, Kelli O'Brien has recently challenged the legitimacy of recognising allusions that lack significant lexical correspondence.[70]

While the importance of the Jewish scriptures to understanding Mark's Gospel is universally acknowledged, there is a spectrum among Markan scholars as to the extent to which they are willing to acknowledge allusions that are not explicitly indicated in the text. The Markan miracle accounts contain no clear quotations of scripture, and so are sometimes not discussed at all in regard to Mark's use of scripture.[71] Despite this, the observable trend in recent

[67] Charles Harold Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Collins, 1965); Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (Philadelphia, Phil.: Westminster, 1961); Rikki E. Watts, 'Mark', in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2007), 111–250.

[68] Joel Marcus, *The Way of the Lord* (Louisville, Ky.: John Knox, 1992). For the influence and use of the Isaianic servant songs in the canonical gospels and the Jesus tradition see Douglas J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), 79–172.

[69] Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1997); Rikki E. Watts, 'Jesus and the New Exodus Restoration of Daughter Zion: Mark 5:21-43 in Context', in *The New Testament in Its First Century Setting: Essays on Context and Background in Honour of B. W. Winter on His 65th Birthday* (Grand Rapids , MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 13–29.

[70] Kelli S. O'Brien, *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative*, LNTS 384 (London: T&T Clark, 2010). A similar critique is offered by Paul Foster, 'Echoes without Resonance: Critiquing Certain Aspects of Recent Scholarly Trends in the Study of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament', *JSNT* 38 (2015): 96–111.

[71] E.g. Watts, 'Mark'.

critical commentaries is to recognise the significance of scriptural allusions and parallels in locating the meaning and purpose of Mark's miracle accounts.[72]

Several scholars have made the scriptural background of the miracles a special focus of their work. Their studies, while not often convincing many commentators, are valuable in opening up the conversation. J. Duncan M. Derrett has produced several articles as well as a commentary on Mark.[73] Derrett's approach tends to generate a convoluted web of different scriptural connection that follow a grand scriptural theme (e.g., the sacred marriage). Generally, the overall complexity of Derrett's suggestions renders them unconvincing.

Thomas Brodie is well known for his work on the Elijah-Elisha narratives as a model for the Gospels.[74] Brodie has been criticised for an un-nuanced approach to mimesis (his preferred paradigm for narrative allusion in the Gospels).[75] In addition his analysis lacks detailed investigation of the text and tends to occur at the level of summary description.

Roger David Aus draws heavily on rabbinic traditions to find scripture and Jewish traditions within the Gospel texts.[76] In many ways Aus lies between Derrett and Brodie in method. Like Brodie he provides a simple overarching thesis for a passage, but like Derrett he applies many detailed suggestions from varied sources to establish his argument. However, Aus does not

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[72] Notable in this regard are David E. Garland, *Mark*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1996); Marcus, *Mark 1-8*; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*; Boring, *Mark*; Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2007).

[73] J. Duncan Derrett, 'Contributions to the Study of the Gerasene Demoniac', *JSNT* 3 (1979): 2–17; J. Duncan Derrett, 'Spirit-Possession and the Gerasene Demoniac', *Man* 14 (1979): 286–93; J. Duncan Derrett, 'Mark's Technique: The Haemorrhaging Woman and Jairus' Daughter', *Biblica* 63 (1982): 474–505; J. Duncan Derrett, *The Making of Mark: The Scriptural Bases of the Earliest Gospel*, 2 vols (Shipston-on-Stour: Drinkwater, 1985).

[74] Thomas L. Brodie, 'Jesus as the New Elisha: Cracking the Code', *ExpTim* 93 (1981): 39–42; Thomas L. Brodie, *The Crucial Bridge: The Elijah-Elisha Narrative as an Interpretive Synthesis of Genesis-Kings and a Literary Model for the Gospels* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2000).

[75] See §2.6 below.

[76] Roger David Aus, *The Stilling of the Storm: Studies in Early Palestinian Judaic Traditions* (Binghampton, NY.: Global, 2000); idem, *My Name Is Legion: Palestinian Judaic Traditions in Mark 5:1-20 and Other Gospel Texts* (Lanham, Md.: UPA, 2003); idem, *Feeding the Five Thousand : Studies in the Judaic Background of Mark 6:30-44 Par. and John 6:1-15* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2010).

give due attention to issues of dating and weighting of the Rabbinic evidence, has an un-nuanced view of Midrash (his preferred paradigm for narrative allusion in the Gospels), and his cumulative arguments are often built on rather tenuous evidence.

In this study, the thesis of a literary typology within the miracle accounts leads to a simple argument: a correlation between one miracle story from the scriptures and another from the Gospel. The literary typology will be argued for by detailed attention to both texts. Jewish traditions will also be considered. Greater attention and significance is given to those which are likely to precede or be contemporary with Mark. Finally, the paradigm of typology will be based on models that can be seen to be operating in early Hellenistic Judiasm, rather than on models based primarily on Greek rhetoric.

As I hope to show, some of Mark's miracles make deliberate and sustained use of literary narrative allusion to the scriptures. While some of these allusions have been suggested before, this study aims to be the most comprehensive analysis to date and the first to argue for a consistent exegetical approach by the Gospel author over several miracles. Although I consider it possible to make allusions without specific lexical correspondences, the Markan miracles considered all contain verbal correspondences that, I will argue, are best explained by the presence of scriptural (literary) typology that reflects underlying fulfilment and theomorphic typologies.

### *§1.4.3 Christology in Mark and the Miracles*

Understandably, Mark's Christology has been a "preoccupation" of Markan scholars.[77] With the recognition that the miracles contribute to the Gospel's Christological agenda the challenge becomes defining and analysing what that contribution is. Wilhelm Wrede's influential *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901)[78] moved the focus of scholarship from the historicity of the miracles to their "Christological impact".[79] In Wrede's analysis the

[77] William Telford, *Writing on the Gospel of Mark*, Guides to Advanced Biblical Research (Blandford Forum: Deo Publishing, 2009), 17.

[78] Wilhelm Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien: zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901); English edition, William Wrede, *Messianic Secret*, trans. J. C. G. Greig (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1971).

[79] Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 14.

Markan miracles revealed Jesus' identity as Son of God and Messiah, but this identity and the miracles were kept secret until after the resurrection.[80] Following Wrede, Dibelius modified the messianic secret into a way of resolving the apparent tension between the powerful Jesus of the miracles and the suffering Jesus of the cross.[81] Theodore Weeden then extended this idea by arguing that the powerful Jesus was an apostolic heresy which the Gospel contradicts by subordinating it to an alternative tradition based on the suffering Jesus.[82]

Broadhead argues, "Because form and redaction studies ultimately seek an object behind the text, these approaches have failed to give proper attention to the narrative form and function of the Gospel stories."[83] His own study uses narrative analysis to maintain a focus on the text of the Gospel and understands the Gospel text as the "Christian kerygma" itself, not something from which the kerygma has to be distilled.[84] He also recognises that the miracle accounts are not focused on acts of power but oriented to other concerns: "a dynamic and multifaceted characterization of Jesus" and "corollary issues of discipleship and opposition to Jesus".[85] Broadhead's monograph covers all Markan miracles and so is not able to give detailed attention to each miracle. He also does not systematically consider possible scriptural backgrounds for the miracles.

This thesis will focus on the "dynamic and multifaceted characterization of Jesus" within the the Markan miracles, but with detailed attention to the scriptural background of that characterisation. In this way, Mark's characterisation of Jesus ceases to be simply the manner in which Jesus is portrayed as an actor in the Gospel narrative but becomes a means of asserting Jesus' eschatological and theomorphic identity via typological allusion to the scriptures.

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[80] Wrede, *Messianic Secret*; 'Secret is the wonder-working which is characteristic of the messiahship and would betray it.' p. 80; 'real knowledge of what Jesus is only begins with his resurrection.' p. 114.

[81] Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 230–31; Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 14.

[82] Weeden, *Mark*, 159–62; Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 19–20.

[83] Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 22; see e.g. redaction critic Willi Marxsen (*The Beginnings of Christology: Together with The Lord's Supper as a Christological Problem*, trans. Paul J. Achtemeier and Lorenz Nieting [Philadelphia, Phil.: Fortress, 1979], 23), who writes, 'the beginning of Christology has to do, not with the exegesis of the New Testament texts as they now stand, but with material prior to the present form of the New Testament.'

[84] Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 24.

[85] Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 216.

Equally, Mark's Gospel and its miracle accounts have often had a pivotal role in more general discussion of New Testament Christology. This study seeks to engage the contemporary early high Christology debate at the point where Mark's miracles play an important role. This is most apparent in the work of Richard Bauckham[86] and, directly contesting Bauckham's work, Daniel Kirk.[87] This discussion will be reserved for its own chapter (§8), rather than tackled during the exegesis. This approach will allow a more rigorous analysis of the lines of argument and the issues presented thereby. In particular the method of both Bauckham and Kirk are similar, in that they both construct a paradigm from Jewish literature to then apply to Mark. As I hope to show, the use of such paradigms requires assumptions about Mark's conceptualisation of divinity and divine/human ontology, and Mark's theological consistency with the paradigm, and they prejudge the possibility of early Christian innovation. Perhaps even more to the point, I will argue that when these paradigms are applied in exegesis of Mark's Gospel they can obscure features of the Markan text and mislead the exegete from their stated goals. Thus this thesis will examine and critique the use of Mark's Gospel's miracle accounts in the current early high Christology debate and attempt to offer a constructive way forward.

### §1.5 Reading Mark as Narrative Literature

In arguing for the significance of typology to the Gospel of Mark an implicit claim is made regarding the nature of the Gospel as a work of literature. For much of the history of critical scholarship Mark was considered to be "basically an unlettered religious enthusiast who wrote in simple Greek."[88] James Edwards has compiled a revealing selection of judgements on Mark's literary merits:[89] For Günther Dehn, Mark was "neither a historian nor an author.

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[86] Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008); Richard Bauckham, "Markan Christology According to Richard Hays: Some Addenda," *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 11 (2017): 21–36.

[87] J. R. Daniel Kirk, *A Man Attested by God: The Human Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2016); J. R. Daniel Kirk and Stephen L. Young, "'I Will Set His Hand to the Sea': The Relevance of Ps 88:26 LXX to Debates about Christology in Mark," *JBL* 133 (2014): 333–40.

[88] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 12.

[89] James R. Edwards, 'Markan Sandwiches: The Significance of Interpolations in Markan Narratives', *NovT* 31 (1989): 194.

He assembled his material in the simplest manner thinkable."[90] For Rudolf Bultmann, "Mark is not sufficiently master of his material to be able to venture on a systematic construction himself."[91] And still into the seventies, Etienne Trocmé could write: "The point is settled: the author of Mark was a clumsy writer unworthy of mention in any history of literature."[92] To those three, I would add Wrede's excoriation: "[Mark] did not think through from one point in his presentation to the next . . . Not by a single syllable does he indicate that he desires to see two facts brought into connection which he happens to tell one after the other."[93]

On the other hand, as early as 1959 the literary critic Helen Gardner wrote of a recent development that "the literary problems of the New Testament are discussed in terms in which poetry is discussed, and we have recently been asked to consider St. Mark . . . as having written what is from the literary point of view, 'more of a poem than a treatise'."[94] In the late seventies a decisive point was reached when Norman Perrin, a highly regarded redaction critic, admitted that "less than justice is being done to the text of the Gospel as a coherent text with its own internal dynamics."[95] Instead he argued for a literary critical approach to Mark: "One of the consequences of a literary-critical concern for the text of

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[90] Gunther Dehn, *Der Gottessohn. Eine Einführung in das Evangelium des Markus* (Hamburg: Im Furche-Verlag, 1953), 18.

[91] Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963), 350.

[92] Etienne Trocmé, *The Formation of the Gospel According to Mark*, trans. P. Gaughan (London: SPCK, 1975), 72.

[93] Wrede, *Messianic Secret*, 132.

[94] Helen Gardner, *The Business of Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 82. She clarifies at 102-103, 'The contrast between a poem and a treatise is a contrast between one manner of discourse and another: between language used to express an imaginative apprehension, whether of events, person, or experiences, and language used for logical discourse and argument, or to give information . . . [Mark] presents us with a sequence of events and sayings which combine to create in our minds a single complex and powerful symbol, a pattern of meaning. . . St. Mark is called a "poet" because he was not concerned to narrate mere events, but to narrate meaningful events which compose a meaningful whole'. Although Gardner does not cite her source, the context, in which she refers several times to Austin Farrer, suggests that she is almost certainly paraphrasing Farrer, *A Study in St Mark*, 30.

[95] Norman Perrin, 'The Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark', *Interpretation* 30 (1976): 120; Timothy Dwyer, *The Motif of Wonder in the Gospel of Mark*, JSNTSup 128 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 14.

Mark as a totality is a concern for the meaning for Mark himself of the terms he uses and the incidents he narrates."[96]

Since then, such a literary critical approach has become increasingly mainstream. Telford, writing a summary of Markan scholarship in 2009, was able to state that "A significant feature of Markan studies in the last quarter of the century is the emphasis on *Mark as literature,* an orientation that has rivalled, if not eclipsed, its treatment as history." [97]

Of course, the older methods of redaction criticism, form criticism, source criticism, and composition criticism were themselves technically forms of literary criticism.[98] Within the study of Mark's Gospel, however, "literary criticism" usually signifies an approach which is in opposition to the way the other critical methods tend to "break up the narrative in order to get at the questions they pursue."[99] The other approaches mentioned are generally termed in current Markan scholarship as *historical* methods in opposition to *literary* methods.[100] Literary critics argue that the so-called historical methods' atomisation of the text can work to obscure a work's narrative effect.[101] The historical methods have also been critiqued for using (often conjectural) factors from outside of the text to interpret the theological intention of the Gospel text.[102]

What Markan scholars tend to call a literary-critical approach may be more precisely termed narrative criticism, in that it seeks to treat the Gospel as a coherent unified narrative and study its structure and message as a whole work.[103] Such an approach need be no less historical than, for example, redaction criticism, since the final form of the text, the intention

[96] Perrin, 'The Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark', 124.

[97] Telford, *Writing on the Gospel of Mark*, 8, emphasis original.

[98] Gardner, *The Business of Criticism*, 97; Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 22.

[99] David Rhoads, 'Narrative Criticism and the Gospel of Mark', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50 (1982): 412; also Gardner, *The Business of Criticism*, 97–98; Marxsen, *The Beginnings of Christology*, 25.

[100] Telford, *Writing on the Gospel of Mark*, 41; Winn, *Reading Mark's Christology under Caesar*, 14.

[101] Norman R. Petersen, 'Point of View in Mark's Narrative', *Semeia* 12 (1978): 118; Gardner, *The Business of Criticism*, 107.

[102] Winn, *Reading Mark's Christology under Caesar*, 14.

[103] Rhoads and Michie, *Mark as Story*, 2–4.

of its putative author, and its impact on its first audiences, are no less historical questions than that of how the work came to be.

This study does not seek to consider Mark as literature in opposition to or apart from historical concerns. It intends to apply narrative criticism within a particular historical setting to make a historical argument.[104] As will be shown in the next chapter, the literary typology I will argue for is an approach to composition observable within the historical era of Mark's composition. By observing how the Markan narrative works, by treating it as a unified and coherent whole, and by paying attention to certain literary features, I hope to be able to identify what those literary features would have meant to Mark's ideal readers (discussed below) in the Gospel's historical context. In particular, like Adam Winn, "I am committed to the notion that the theological content of Mark is embedded in and inseparable from the narrative itself."[105] Thus the historical question of accessing the meaning of the miracle accounts requires both an understanding of the individual episodes as coherent narratives, and how they contribute to and are informed by the larger narrative of the whole Gospel.[106] The historical question also requires an understanding of those features within the historical-cultural-literary context of the Gospel.

### *§1.5.1 Genre*

One indication of the validity of a typological approach to Mark comes through consideration of the Gospel's genre. The genre of Mark has long been a contested issue. Increasingly it has been recognised that the genre classifications of scholarship are not always well adhered to by the texts being studied.[107] Mark's genre should not be conceived of in precise taxonomic

[104] For a similar approach see, e.g., Winn, *Reading Mark's Christology under Caesar*, 24.

[105] Winn, *Reading Mark's Christology under Caesar*, 24; see also Robert S. Reid, 'When Words Were a Power Loosed: Audience Expectation and Finished Narrative in the Gospel of Mark', *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80 (1994): 427; M. Eugene Boring, 'Markan Christology: God-Language for Jesus?', *NTS* 45 (1999): 471.

[106] Cf. Winn, *Reading Mark's Christology under Caesar*, 15; Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 58.

[107] Katharine J. Dell, 'Genre versus Intertextuality: Linking Wisdom Texts, Themes and Contexts with the Wider Old Testament and with the Sayings of Jesus', in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 40–41.

categories. Genre categories for early Jewish and Christian works should be understood to be "fuzzy" or prototypical rather than taxonomic.[108] Whatever led Mark to give the Gospel the form it has taken, it is not to be supposed he consciously set out to create a new genre or conform rigidly to a pre-existing one. Rather, the particular examples of various genres which he, as a literate person, would have encountered, would exist as models on which he could draw in the process of composition.

Mark wrote a story. That story resembles in some respects a Greco-Roman *bios*;[109] or a Greco-Roman history;[110] in other respects, a Jewish apocalyptic work;[111] in still other respects, Jewish sacred history (i.e. the Elijah-Elisha cycle from 1-2 Kings).[112] It is not

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[108] On this distinction see Carol A. Newsom, 'Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology', in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients*, ed. Ronald L. Troxel, Kevin G. Freibel, and Dennis R. Magary (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 437–50; Elizabeth E. Shiveley, 'Recognizing Penguins: Audience Expectation, Cognitive Genre Theory, and the Ending of Mark's Gospel', *CBQ* 80 (2018): 273–92; both Newson and Shively build their work on Eleanor Rosch, 'Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories', *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 104 (1975): 192–233.

[109] Charles Talbert, *What Is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia, Phil.: Fortress Press, 1977); Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Reid, 'When Words Were a Power Loosed', 431; Collins, *Mark*, 22–33; Helen K. Bond, 'Was Peter behind Mark's Gospel?', in *Peter in Early Christianity*, ed. Helen K. Bond and Larry W. Hurtado (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2015), 54–56; idem, 'A Fitting End? Self-Denial and a Slave's Death in Mark's Life of Jesus', *NTS* 65 (2019): 425–42.

[110] Reid, 'When Words Were a Power Loosed', 432; Collins, *Mark*, 33–42.

[111] Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and the Eschatological Discourse, Mark 13 Par.*, trans. Neil Tomkinson (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1966); Thomas E. Boomershine, 'Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages in Paul, Jesus, and Mark: Rhetoric and Dialectic in Apocalyptic and the New Testament', in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards, JSNTSup 24 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 147–68.

[112] Brodie, 'Jesus as the New Elisha: Cracking the Code'; Brodie, *The Crucial Bridge*; Wolfgang Roth, *Hebrew Gospel: Cracking the Code of Mark* (Oak Park, Il.: Meyer-Stone, 1988); Adam Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative: Considering the Practice of Greco-Roman Imitation in the Search for Markan Source Material* (Eugene, Or.: Pickwick, 2010).

necessary to choose one over the others as Mark's genre. Rather, we can see the contributing influence of various genres as Mark writes the earliest "Gospel".[113] Mark thus becomes the prototype for a new genre.

That said, while Mark may have drawn on many genres and should not be defined by just one, Mark does clearly position his Gospel vis-à-vis a particular corpus. As Collins argues, "the author has created an eschatological counterpart of an older biblical genre, the foundational sacred history."[114] While Mark may have been influenced by other literature in the formation of the Gospel, there is only one group of works which is explicitly cited. In fact, Mark begins with a citation from the Jewish scriptures (Mal 3:1; LXX Isa 40:3; Mark 1:2-3) and attributes the events around Jesus, especially his climactic suffering and death, to the fulfilment of the scriptures (e.g. Mark 7:6; 9:12-13; 11:17; 14:21, 27, 49).[115]

This is not to create a hard division between Jewish and Greco-Roman literature.[116] It is, however, to recognise the literary background specifically indicated by the Gospel text. In this study, Greco Roman miracle stories will be considered as examples of how such stories were told in the ancient world, and such conventions certainly influenced Jewish authors to varying degrees and may well have influenced Mark. Especially when these conventions are not followed, we are entitled to look for more specific influences from the Jewish scriptures.

Thus the Gospel is self-consciously positioned within a wider narrative of the Jewish scriptures and eschatological hope. Mark is not writing a commentary on the scriptures. Mark writes the story of Jesus' life and death in such a way as to portray it as a continuation and fulfilment of the scriptures. One of the ways this continuation and fulfilment is expressed is

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[113] Collins, *Mark*, 42–43.

[114] Collins, *Mark,* 1.

[115] See also Collins, *Mark,* 42–43.

[116] Foster writes, 'There is a tendency to dichotomize "Jewish background" and "Hellenistic background", as though these were entirely discrete entities with no overlap whatsoever. The reality appears to have been far different. Instead, one should perhaps talk of influences from the ancient Mediterranean world, and maybe beyond. This in no way suggests a monolithic cultural entity; rather it reflects the organic mix of varied societies, with overlapping cultural values and heritages that are shared to some degree. There is interpenetration between the various socio-religious groups, and hence the textual and cultural narratives that shaped an author's thinking and own literary works reflect a complex web of influences.' ('Echoes without Resonance', 99).

through the use of a literary typology that presents Jesus as the recapitulation and escalation of prior salvation historical events. Thus typology complements and reinforces Mark's genre.

### *§1.5.2 Implied/Ideal Reader*

The focus of this thesis is on typology as a mode of production rather than a mode of reception.[117] Mark's first audience, and especially their levels of literacy and knowledge of the scriptures, is largely unknown to us. The construct of an implied reader serves to reveal "the author's *perception* of the intended audience, including how that perception shaped the author's strategies for communicating with his audience."[118] The ideal reader is a literary-critical concept that "is implicit in the text and is distinct from any actual reader, ancient or modern. The ideal reader is a reconstruction of all the appropriate responses suggested or implied by the text."[119]

Some of the strongest clues in Mark as to the Gospel's ideal reader are moments when the Gospel narrative seems to address the reader directly: "let the reader understand" (Mark 13:14); "Let anyone with ears to hear listen!" (4:9). With such asides, the Gospel informs its readers that they should expect signification beyond the literal, surface meaning of the text. In the case of 13:14, the abomination that causes desolation is an apocalyptic scriptural symbol (Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11) of something the reader is supposed to be able to interpret as a sign of imminent events. In the case of 4:9, the cryptic meaning of the parable is not given to the crowd (even though it is explained in 4:10-20 to the disciples) but only to those with "ears to hear". Again the elements of the parable (e.g. sower, seed, soils) symbolically represent something else (e.g. preacher, word, hearers). These symbols are likely based on Jewish

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[117] I take this distinction from the helpful discussion in Ben Witherington, *Isaiah Old and New: Exegesis, Intertextuality, and Hermeneutics* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2017), 460–61.

[118] Stanley, 'The Rhetoric of Quotations', 57, emphasis original.

[119] Rhoads, 'Narrative Criticism and the Gospel of Mark', 422; Rhoads and Michie, *Mark as Story*, 137; further, 'the shift of adjective from "implied" to "ideal" intends a more exclusive referent of those who recognise biblical texts as intertexts—a biblically literate reader for whom Scripture is canonical literature and formative of faith . . . for whom the overriding concern is to interpret scripture in the light of its own subject matter.' So Robert W. Wall, 'The Intertextuality of Scripture: The Example of Rahab (James 2:25)', in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, SDSS (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 217–36.

traditions around God's eschatological judgement (possibly also preserved in 4 Ezra 4:26-32; 8:37-45; 9:31-37),[120] in particular a tradition on Exodus theophanies where God says "behold, I sow my Law in you" (4 Ezra 9:31).[121] The ideal reader also needs to have "ears to hear" in order to understand the subsequent parables, which are not explained but also contain significant scriptural motifs.[122]

Marcus argues that the rhetoric of the Gospel assumes Christian belief, especially as the call narratives give no motivation or benefit for following Jesus (1:16-20; 2:13-17).[123] If the Gospel assumes initiation into the Christian community, then it may also assume familiarity with the scriptures.[124] Chapman points out that at the beginning of the Gospel implicit clues are given regarding the identity of John the Baptist as the new Elijah (Mal 4:5; 1 Kgs 1:8; Mark 1:1-7), and that these clues require a high level of scriptural knowledge to interpret.[125]

In both modern and ancient literary theory there is a recognised potency in "gaps, blanks, indeterminacies, vacancies and negations" which stimulate the reader to supply meaning.[126] Repeated listening or reading allows more subtle allusions to be discovered. Such allusions,

[120] John Drury, *The Parables in the Gospels: History and Allegory* (New York, N.Y.: Crossroad, 1985), 26–27; 52–53; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 296.

[121] Trans. B. M. Metzger, OTP 1.545; Drury, *The Parables in the Gospels*, 28.

[122] E.g. Mark 4:21 alludes to Psalm 119:105; Mark 4:24-25 alludes to Prov 11:24; Mark 4:4:26-29 alludes to Isa 17:5-6; 18:5; Micah 4:12; Joel 3:13; Mark 4:30-32 alludes to Ezek 17:23; 31:6; Dan 4:18. See discussion in Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 314–31.

[123] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 28; also Bond, 'Was Peter behind Mark's Gospel?', 52.

[124] Exactly which scriptures they would be familiar with, is not certain, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

[125] Dean W. Chapman, *The Orphan Gospel: Mark's Perspective on Jesus* (Sheffield: Continuum, 1993), 192.

[126] Terence R. Wright, 'Margaret Atwood and St. Mark: The Shape of The Gaps', in *The Daemonic Imagination: Biblical Text and Secular Story*, ed. Robert Detweiler and William G. Doty, AAR Studies in Religion 60 (Atlanta, Ga.; Scholars Press, 1990), 182; see also Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 155; Moyise, 'Intertextuality and the Study of the OT in the NT', 18–19; Dale C. Allison, *Studies in Matthew: Interpretation Past and Present* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2005), 76.

as I will show in the next chapter, are a well-attested feature of ancient Greco-Roman and early Jewish writings.[127]

Jesus rebukes the Sadducees in Mark 12:24, "Is not this the reason you are wrong, that you know neither the scriptures (τὰς γραφὰς) nor the power (τὴν δύναμιν) of God?" For the reader to agree with this critique they must belong to a community that both knows the scriptures and God's power at work among them. Here, two themes of this study, scripture and miracles, are explicitly mentioned as belonging together within the epistemology of Mark's Jesus, and consequently of Mark's ideal readers.

Mark's ideal reader is able to comprehend the symbolic and allusive significance of words and events relayed by the narrative. As Allison argues, "an alluding text is a presuming text."[128] Essential to this comprehension is familiarity with the Jewish scriptures, which have from the start of the Gospel been given as the key to the meaning of unfolding narrative.[129] One way in which an event can be given a developed symbolism, or in which an allusion can be extended, is through literary typology. Mark's ideal reader would both identify such typologies and find them meaningful.

### *§1.5.3 Intertextuality*

Literary typology is a form of diachronic intertextuality, as it serves to establish a relationship between two texts.[130] In the following study I will generally avoid using the word *intertextuality* because it is a contested term with a range of possible implications.[131]

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[127] Michael R. Whitenton, *Hearing Kyriotic Sonship: A Cognitive and Rhetorical Approach to the Characterization of Mark's Jesus*, BINS 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 65–96, esp 77–82; see also Shiveley, 'Recognizing Penguins', 287.

[128] Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 21.

[129] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 44; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 10.

[130] Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 154; Allison, *The New Moses*, 6; idem, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 190–91.

[131] Stanley E. Porter, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Commentary on Method and Terminology', in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scripture of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 84–85.

However, many recent works on biblical intertextuality are very useful for this project and will be used without bias.

Telford notes that within literary-critical approaches to Mark, "Particular attention has been paid to intertextuality."[132] The work of Richard Hays is generally credited with bringing discussion of intertextuality into the mainstream of biblical scholarship. It has been frequently noted, however, that Hays' is a particular form of intertextuality that in many ways has co-opted a *term* from literary theory and used it in a way diametrically opposed to the original intention.[133]

On the other hand, the comparison of ancient texts as parallels, influences or sources which explain or interpret features of the later text has always been a component of biblical scholarship. So, for example, the previously mentioned work of Dibelius and Bultmann argued that Gospel tradents assimilated Jesus to Hellenistic divine-men, which is to posit an intertextual relationship of influence from the Greco-Roman myths of wonder workers on the Gospel.[134] While Greco-Roman parallels are still important in considering the Gospels, for considering the Markan miracles and their Christology, the scriptures and traditions of Second Temple Judaism are the most pertinent context.[135] But again, this approach is not new. Examples of those doing "intertextual" work with Jewish texts before Hays' *Echoes of*

[132] Telford, *Writing on the Gospel of Mark*, 8, emphasis original.

[133] Dell, 'Genre versus Intertextuality', 43; Porter, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament', 84–85; Foster, 'Echoes without Resonance', 98. As Julia Kristeva complains, 'this term has often been understood in the banal sense of "study of sources"' ('Revolution in Poetic Language', in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986], 111). Dale Allison notes that many literary critics use 'intertextuality' as a synchronic concept within a post-structuralist framework. It is then frequently opposed to diachronic 'influence'. However, in biblical studies intertextuality is often used as a shorthand for just this diachronic influence, and this is how Allison uses the term (*The Intertextual Jesus*, ix).

[134] Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 70–103; Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 218–44; on this see Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 245–50.

[135] Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (London: SCM Press, 1988), 6; Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 213–50.

*Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (1989) or the term was even apparently coined by Julia Kristeva (1966)[136] could be multiplied.

In Hays' work *intertextuality* denotes the capacity of texts to allude to and echo earlier texts and generate meaning by doing so. In Hays' terminology an *echo* is a lighter, more diffuse, resonance than an allusion.[137] It is this literary characteristic of allusion and echo which most biblical studies that are specifically *intertextual* focus on.[138] Mark's ideal reader, as discussed above, is assuredly an intertextual reader. That is, someone who is able and willing to interpret the Gospel in dialogue with the scriptural texts of Judaism.

That said, one significant issue with Hays' approach, is the assumption "that Old Testament texts have a relatively stable, patent meaning, and this meaning is in view when used by New Testament authors."[139] Rather, NT use of scripture was conditioned, as Donald Juel puts it, by "a vast network of exegesis to which we have only limited access."[140] If intertextuality between the Jewish scriptures and the NT is to be considered in terms of historical authorial intent then the traditions of interpretation available in the first century must be understood to be part of that intertextuality.[141] Because our access to those traditions is incomplete,

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[136] Julia Kristeva, *La Révolution du langage poétique* (Paris: Seuil, 1974), 59–60; parts of which are translated into English in Kristeva, 'Revolution in Poetic Language', 111. Although Kristeva is frequently attributed with coining the term (e.g. María Jesús Martínez Alfaro, 'Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept', *Atlantis* 18 [1996]: 268) her own works speak as if the term is already familiar and in use, so it is possible she may not claim it as her own invention.

[137] Foster, 'Echoes without Resonance', 98.

[138] Emadi, 'Intertextuality in New Testament Scholarship'; Moyise, 'Intertextuality and the Study of the OT in the NT'.

[139] Leroy Andrew Huizenga, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 61; see also Foster, 'Echoes without Resonance', 98; Richard Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays: Some Addenda', *JTI* 11 (2017): 22. On the problem with the author of Mark being concerned with 'meaning' at all, see Millay, 'Septuagint Figura', 98–104.

[140] Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 2; see also Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 61; Samuel Sandmel, 'Parallelomania', *JBL* 81 (1962): 6.

[141] See, e.g., James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1–41; Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 31–57; Craig A. Evans, 'Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure', in *The Bible*

conclusions regarding how those traditions influence the Gospel's use of a scriptural text will often be tentative, but they still need to be considered.

### *§1.5.4 Terminology of Textual Relationships*

One perennial issue in studies of biblical intertextuality, the study of the NT's use of scripture, and related concerns, is the lack of standardised technical terms and definitions.[142] Beate Kowalski pessimistically opines, "I am pretty sure that the problem will not be solved in the future as exegetes are not necessarily known for reaching agreements."[143] It is necessary then to specify and define the terminology that will be used with this study.

A *correspondence* is employed to denote any similarity between two texts, whether verbal, thematic, narrative, or otherwise without asserting any necessary authorial or audience awareness or hermeneutical significance. For example χαλκίον only occurs in Mark 7:4 in the NT and 1 Sam 2:14 in the LXX. In this case there is no apparent significance in the similarity beyond helping establish lexical meaning. Michael Lyons writes, "Vocabulary shared by two texts could be due to deliberate borrowing, but it could also be due to coincidence, unconscious dependence, or the use of stock vocabulary associated with a particular social setting or genre."[144] The same applies, *mutatis mutandis,* to correspondences in motif, theme, characterisation and narrative structure.

A *quotation* or *citation* is an explicit use of scripture. Steve Moyise writes,

> Generally a quotation involves a self-conscious break from the author's style to introduce words from another context. There is frequently an introductory formula like καθὼς γέγραπται [e.g. Mark 9:13] or Μωϋσῆς λέγει [e.g. Rom. 10:19] or some grammatical clue such as the use of ὅτι.[145]

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*at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, SDSS (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 157.

[142] Porter, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament', 80.

[143] Beate Kowalski, 'Selective versus Contextual Allusions: Reconsidering Technical Terms of Intertextuality', in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 89.

[144] Michael A. Lyons, 'Psalm 22 and the "Servants" of Isaiah 54; 56-66', *CBQ* 77 (2015): 642.

[145] Steve Moyise, 'Intertextuality and Biblical Studies: A Review', *Verbum et Ecclesia* 23 (2005): 419.

A clear example of a quotation is Mark 11:17: "He was teaching and saying, 'Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations [Isa 56:7]? But you have made it a den of robbers [Jer 7:11].'"

Quotations of scripture are not always marked, as in Mark 11:9: "Then those who went ahead and those who followed were shouting, 'Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord!'" This use of Psalm 118:25-26 is a quotation rather than an allusion because it is a discrete unit of speech, it has not been incorporated into a new discourse, and is also marked by the presence of transliterated Hebrew, ὡσαννά from הושיעה נה.

Scripture can also be cited without strong verbal parallels. An example of this is Mark 2:25: "And he said to them, 'Have you never read what David did when he and his companions were hungry and in need of food?'" This is a clear reference to events of 1 Sam 21:1-6.

An *allusion* is defined by Steve Moyise as "usually woven into the text rather than 'quoted', and is often rather less precise in terms of wording. Naturally, there is considerable debate as to how much verbal agreement is necessary to establish the presence of an allusion."[146] Allusions, however, are not only a verbal phenomenon.[147] The imagery, themes and order of events in a narrative can also be allusive. Because of their implicit nature, from the perspective of the exegete, allusions must be further defined by probability.[148] The differences between a probable allusion and one that is only possible, and how that probability will be determined will be discussed in the next chapter.

Hays suggests, "Quotation, allusion, and echo may be seen as points along a spectrum of intertextual reference, moving from the explicit to the subliminal."[149] An *echo* is defined by Steve Moyise as "a faint trace of a text and might be quite unconscious, emerging from minds soaked in the scriptural heritage of Israel."[150] In this study an echo is distinguished from an

[146] Moyise, 'Intertextuality and Biblical Studies', 419.

[147] It goes without saying that allusion is a prevalent feature of ancient Greek and Latin literature. See e.g. Bruno Currie, *Homer's Allusive Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Lisa Whitlatch, 'The Attainment of Every Virtue: A Pindaric Allusion in Grattius' Cynegetica', *Classical Quarterly* 66 (2016): 807–12; Richard Garner, *Form Homer to Tragedy: The Art of Allusion in Greek Poetry* (London: Routledge, 1990).

[148] Kowalski, 'Selective versus Contextual Allusions', 88–89.

[149] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 23.

[150] Moyise, 'Intertextuality and Biblical Studies', 419.

allusion by the impact it has had on the text. Echoes contribute to the "feel" of the text. They resonate as part of the "cultural encyclopedia"[151] behind the text. An echo could arise as an unintended coincidence of poetic language.[152] Quotations, citations and allusions appear, rather, as deliberate acts of an author. An echo is far more an affinity of thought or faint correspondence that is not essential to the literary effect but contributes to it in some way. A faint echo can have a faint effect on the reader. Determining an echo is not matter of presence and absence, but of degrees of plausibility and strength.[153]

### *§1.5.5 Narrative Allusions*

Beate Kowalski writes, "Allusions to an entire narrative, to a specific literary genre or narrative pattern, are the ideal case of contextual allusions."[154] This study compares narrative episodes from the Gospel of Mark with corresponding narratives from the Jewish scriptures. These specific scriptural narratives are not cited or quoted in the Gospel. Their presence is allusive. However, several factor lend credibility to the suggestion of such allusions.

Allusion to large and complex prophetic texts like the book of Isaiah, would be discernible by only the scripturally educated and would require considerable feats of memory. On the other hand, vivid and dramatic stories of scriptural miracles would be easily remembered and could circulate even among the uneducated. Correspondingly, allusions to such stories are likely to

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[151] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 61. This terms derives from Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 69–84; Umberto Eco, 'The Theory of Signs and the Role of the Reader', *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 14 (1981): 35–45, at 43. See also Paolo Desogus, 'The Encyclopedia in Umberto Eco's Semiotics', *Semiotica* 192 (2012): 501–21.

[152] It is not that an echo could not have been deliberate. It is just that we do not have sufficient evidence in the text to decide. An example of an echo which may simply reflect poetic (anthologising) use of scriptural language rather than a deliberate reference is Mark 14:34. "And he said to them, 'my soul (ἡ ψυχή μου) is deeply grieved (περίλυπος), even to death (ἕως θανάτου); remain here, and keep awake.'" Cf. LXX Ps 6:4 (3), ἡ ψυχή μου ἐταράχθη σφόδρα, Ps 41:6 (42:5), τί περίλυπος εἶ ψυχή; Jonah 4:9, λελύπημαι ἐγὼ ἕως θανάτου; Sir 37:2 λύπη ἔνι ἕως θανάτου.

[153] Moyise, 'Concluding Reflections', 184.

[154] Kowalski, 'Selective versus Contextual Allusions', 98.

have been more easily recognisable than allusions to anything other than the most well know sections of the prophetic books.

Steve Smith offers a helpful subdivision for scriptural references concerning their "function and not their structure."[155] He suggests there are essential references, enriching references, compositional references, and unintentional references. An essential reference, like Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27, must be understood by the reader to be a reference to scripture. In that instance Mark's point depends on the audience appreciating that it is a reference to scripture which Jesus fulfils. On the other hand,

> Enriching references are those that some readers will notice, thereby adding implicatures, but which other readers will miss without causing detriment to the central message of the text. An author wants readers to notice these echoes because it increases understanding, but the contextual effects are secondary to the essential ones.[156]

Mark's miracle stories make sense, and contribute to the Gospel, without the allusions to scripture being noticed. I will argue that recognising the allusions enriches our reading of the text and clarifies some disputed issues. Further, if we recognise that Mark's Gospel would have been repeatedly read and possibly explained in the context of Christian gatherings, this would mean that even very subtle allusions could operate as enriching references.[157]

Smith's category of compositional references suggests that New Testament authors could use the scriptures in composing their texts without requiring or expecting the audience to perceive that use. Even without a hermeneutic based on the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the fulfilment of the scriptures, a scripturally literate author might be expected to use the scriptural miracles as literary models in the crafting of their own miracle narratives.

Here a *narrative allusion* is understood to be more than the use of a motif or word from another narrative, but the *compositional* use of one scriptural narrative to shape the Gospel account in a way that *enriches* the account and contributes to the Gospel's message. Where there is a narrative allusion then, there will be multiple correspondences and evident hermeneutic benefit.

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[155] Steve Smith, 'The Use of Criteria: A Proposal from Relevance Theory', in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 150–51.

[156] Smith, 'The Use of Criteria', 150.

[157] Watts, 'Rethinking Context in the Relationship of Israel's Scriptures to the NT', 170.

## §1.6 Reception History and Markan Typology

This thesis presents some novel readings of Mark. Many of the typologies I describe have been observed at least in part in the work of others. Some have not been noticed before. Is it really plausible that after nearly two thousand years of Christian reading there are still some aspects of Mark left to discover?

Simply and briefly, Mark has been a marginalised book in the history of interpretation.[158] In the patristic era Mark's Gospel was far and away the least cited of the Gospels and was the subject of no commentary by a major figure.[159] As Schildgen pithily states, "the gospel was present in the canon but essentially absent from attention."[160] The most likely reason was the perception that reading Matthew and Luke obviated the need for reading Mark.[161] When in the sixth century a commentary was finally written upon Mark, it simply recycled patristic commentary on Matthew and Luke.[162] A seventh century commentary, falsely attributed to Jerome but likely the work of an Irish abbot, is the first work we are aware of to treat Mark as a Gospel distinct from the other synoptics, but it is incomplete and cursory.[163] There is thus no evidence of formal and sustained consideration of Mark in the patristic era, and this neglect continued through the medieval era.

[158] On the textual evidence for Mark's marginalisation, compared to Matthew, in the second century see Eve-Marie Becker, 'The Reception of "Mark" in the 1st and 2nd Centuries C.E. and Its Significance for Genre Studies', in *Mark and Matthew II*, ed. Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson, WUNT 304 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 15–36.

[159] Michael J. Kok, *The Gospel on the Margins: The Reception of Mark in the Second Century* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2015), 1–15.

[160] Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Power and Prejudice: The Reception of the Gospel of Mark* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 36.

[161] Schildgen, *Power and Prejudice*, 37; Kok, *The Gospel on the Margins*, 11.

[162] William R. S. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum: A Byzantine Anthology of Early Christian Commentary on Mark*, TENTS 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[163] Michael Cahill, *The First Commentary on Mark: An Annotated Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

With the rise of modern critical scholarship there was a surge of interest in Mark as "a simple, objective report of things as they had come to him in the tradition."[164] Yet this view did not allow for Mark's own creative genius. Telford summarises early twentieth century views of Mark as "simplistic and indeed frequently patronizing".[165] Against such a background, any subtler points Mark's Gospel may possess were in danger of being overlooked. For example, Mark's strange word choices were unlikely to be investigated as deliberate clues indicating scriptural passages because Mark was assumed to be a poor writer making mistakes.

In the 1960s the application of literary criticism to biblical studies led to the discovery of Mark as a literary work.[166] Instead of a collection of source material inexpertly stitched together, Mark was read as a story with a consistent point of view.[167] However, in general this literary criticism was not applied until much more recently to the question of Mark's use of the scriptures.[168] Rather, literary critics have been interested in the way that the Gospel works as a narrative and the effect it is intended to have on the reader.

Hays argues that the history of interpretation "should rarely be used as a negative test to exclude proposed echoes that commend themselves on other grounds."[169] This applies especially to Mark as a work largely neglected within that history.

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[164] J. V. Bartlett, St Mark, 1922, 29; cited in William Telford, 'Introduction: The Interpretation of Mark', in *The Interpretation of Mark*, ed. William Telford, 2nd ed., Studies in New Testament Interpretation (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 1.

[165] Telford, 'Introduction', 1.

[166] Telford, 'Introduction', 10; see also §1.5.

[167] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, xxii–xxv.

[168] A related issue is the 'relative neglect' of the Septuagint as a source for anything other than textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. See Radu Gheorghita, 'The Influence of the Septuagint on the New Testament: Toward a More Objective Assessment', in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, vol. 1: Thematic Studies, LNTS 391 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 165; R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), x, 1–2; Timothy Michael Law, *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2–3.

[169] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 31; see also Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 41–44; see also Derrett, 'Contributions', 2; but see qualifying comments in Dale C. Allison, 'The History of Interpretation of Matthew: Lessons Learned', *IDS* 49 (2015): 7–8.

In short, Mark has been ignored for most of Christian history and underestimated for most of the history of critical interpretation. With the present coincidence of a growing appreciation of Mark's literary genius and renewed interest in the way the scriptures function as a subtext for the NT documents we may expect to discover significance in previously overlooked textual details and parallels.

### §1.7 Procedure

Following this introductory chapter, a methodological chapter will outline and defend my approach to typology (§2). Each miracle will then be considered individually in an exegetical chapter (§§3-6). The exegetical chapters will: 1) briefly consider the narrative and relevant issues that the existing scholarship has identified; 2) examine for comparison the literary conventions around that kind of miracle; 3) individually examine and evaluate the case for suggested scriptural backgrounds; and 4) identify and examine the strongest typological background for the passage in relation to its interpretive significance. Once each miracle has been examined a survey of Mark will be undertaken to show the compatibility of the findings with the wider Gospel (§7). A final chapter will consider the results in the context of contemporary discussion of Mark's Christology and draw any conclusions relevant to this study (§8).

## §2 Reading Mark's Miracles Typologically

> *For when our wives conceive, they will not be recognized as pregnant until three months have passed, as also our mother Tamar did. . . And her intent saved her from all danger. Now let us do the same.* (LAB 9:5-6)

### §2.1 The Question of Plausibility: Typology before Mark

In judging the merits of any proposed Markan typology an appreciation of the literary context in which the Gospel emerged is essential. As Goulder writes, "The evangelists are not alone, and are not the first, in using typology as a means to a theological end."[1] The following brief survey of various typologies in Jewish and Christian literature prior to and contemporaneous with Mark aims to establish the plausibility of Mark employing typological composition and interpretation. Firstly, Josephus will provide evidence that first-century Jews were inclined to think typologically both in action and in the production of texts. This will demonstrate that typological featurs of miracle accounts could have been part of the intention of the original event and could also be added or reinforced as the event is recounted, composed or redacted. Then Jewish literature, including the scriptures, and the letters of Paul will be surveyed to show examples of literary typology that predate or were contemporaneous with Mark's Gospel. These will demonstarate the availability of typological thinking to an author such as Mark and also delineate some of the ways in which typology could be used in composition. Finally, I will outline my method for discerning literary typology in Mark and give examples from Mark's Gospel. This will demonstrate the applicability of this method to the particular miracles in Mark 4:35-6:45 that this thesis is concerned with.

### §2.2 Josephus as a witness to First-Century Typology

#### *§2.2.1 The Sign-prophets*

Josephus records a number of first-century Palestinian "ostensible prophets who, following a more or less fixed scenario, led people into the desert, where miracles of deliverance like

[1] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 13.

those of Moses and his imitator, Joshua, were to be enacted."[2] During the procuratorship of Antonius Felix (52-60 CE), Josephus recounts,

> 167 With such pollution did the deeds of the brigands (τῶν λῃστῶν) infect the city. Moreover, imposters and deceivers called upon the mob to follow them into the desert (εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν). 168 For they said that they would show them unmistakable marvels and signs (τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα) that would be wrought in harmony with God's design (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν). Many were, in fact, persuaded and paid the penalty of their folly; for they were brought before Felix and he punished them. (*Ant.* 20:167-168)[3]

Josephus' account of these would-be prophets is hardly sympathetic, yet it is revealing concerning his perception of the motivation of these "brigands."[4] The signs and wonders (τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα) in the wilderness (ἐρημία) arguably evoke the miracles of the Exodus (LXX Exod 7:3, τὰ σημεῖά μου καὶ τὰ τέρατα)[5] and Conquest.[6] In his account of the same events in *Jewish War,* Josephus describes deceitful men and rogues "under the pretence of divine inspiration"[7] (ὑπὸ προσχήματι θειασμοῦ), who persuade the people to be led into the wilderness (εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν) so that in the wilderness God will show them "signs of freedom" (σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας, *J.W.* 2:259). Although Josephus does not specify what these "signs of freedom" might be, it is reasonable to conclude that they would resemble the events around the great liberative moment in scriptural history, the Exodus. This becomes more apparent in Josephus' accounts of Theudas, "the Egyptian" and others.

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[2] Allison, *The New Moses*, 81; see also Craig A. Evans, 'The Baptism of John in a Typological Context', in *Dimensions of Baptism: Biblical and Theological Studies*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, JSNTSup 234 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 46–47.

[3] Trans. Feldman, *Josephus* IX, LCL, 479-481.

[4] Josephus uses the term 'brigand' or 'robber' as a polemical term for political and religious partisans. See Martin Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.*, trans. David Smith (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), 41.

[5] See also LXX Exod 11:9, 10; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 11:3; 29:2; 34:11; Ps 77:43; 104:27; 134:9; cf. Mark 13:22.

[6] Eric Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, JSNTSup 231 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 305.

[7] H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus II*, LCL, (1927/56), 425.

In *Ant.* 20:97 we are told how in the time of Cuspus Fadus (44-48 CE) one Theudas (cf. Acts 5:36), another would-be prophet, persuaded a large number of people to pack up their belongings and follow him to the river Jordan. There he would command the river to divide (προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας) and make a passage (δίοδον) through it. The packing up of belongings is reminiscent of the Israelites departure from Egypt.[8] Theudas, according to Josephus, appears to have conflated the Exodus where Moses and YHWH divide the sea (Exod 14:21, σχίζω) with the crossing of the Jordan where the river rises in a heap (Josh 3:14-17).[9]

A nameless "Egyptian" rebel (cf. Acts 21:38), in the time of Antonius Felix, also assumes the role of prophet (προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθεὶς ἑαυτῷ, *J.W.* 2:261; προφήτης εἶναι λέγων, *Ant.* 20:169). But the Egyptian leads the people *out* of the wilderness (ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας, *J.W.* 2:262) and to the Mount of Olives in order to assault Jerusalem (*J.W.* 2:262; *Ant.* 20:169). In Zech 14:4 the Mount of Olives is identified as a place of God's decisive eschatological action which may well have given some significance to the Egyptian's choice.[10] In one account (*J.W.* 2:261-263) the Egyptian leads the people by a "circuitous route" (περιάγω) which was possibly meant to reflect the circuitous route taken by Israel in the Exodus (cf. Exod 13:18),[11] or the Israelites' circuits around Jericho (Josh 6),[12] or even both. And the Egyptian seems inspired by Joshua and the conquest of Jericho (Josh 6) when he promises his followers that at his command the walls of Jerusalem will fall (ὡς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ πίπτοι τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τείχη, *Ant.* 20:170).[13]

In the case of both Theudas and the Egyptian, they do not seek to replicate the scriptural stories exactly, but at the same time their intended actions unmistakably display the stamp of

[8] Hengel, *The Zealots*, 230; Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 298.

[9] Richard A. Horsley, '"Like One of the Prophets of Old": Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus', *CBQ* 47 (1985): 457.

[10] Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 459; Eyal Ben-eliyahu, '"On That Day, His Feet Will Stand on the Mount of Olives": The Mount of Olives and Its Hero between Jews, Christians, and Muslims', *Jewish History* 30 (2016): 31.

[11] Allison, *The New Moses*, 79.

[12] P. W. Barnett, 'The Jewish Sign Prophets -A.D. 40-70: Their Intentions and Origin', *New Testament Studies* 27 (1981): 683.

[13] Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 548–59; Hengel, *The Zealots*, 231; Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 302.

scriptural miracles. As Horsley writes, "These actions of deliverance are understood as new, eschatological actions that typologically correspond to or are informed by the great formative acts of deliverance led by Moses and Joshua."[14] Their expectation of God's intervention is based on their perception of God's prior acts, and their expectation of the manner of God's intervention is likewise conditioned. Indeed, many of Josephus' accounts of his tactical ruses as a general (e.g. tricking the city of Tiberias with a fleet of empty ships, *J.W.* 2:635-45; *Life* 164-69) are reminiscent of similar biblical episodes (e.g. Gideon's 200 men with trumpets, torches and jars, Judges 7).

Josephus tells of an "imposter" (τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος) from when Porcius Festus was procurator (60-62 CE), who promises his followers "salvation and rest from troubles"[15] (σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ παῦλαν κακῶν) if they are willing to follow him as far as the wilderness (μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας, *Ant.* 20:188). Although there is no specific miracle promised here, the language is again suggestive of scriptural events and promises, and not simply human warfare. The place of the wilderness also seems significant here. Although the wilderness is an obvious place from which to stage guerrilla warfare, away from Roman garrisons and collaborators, it is also closely connected to the Exodus, the location for many scriptural miracles, and a commonality with the other sign-prophets.[16] The language of "as far as" (μέχρι) perhaps suggests that the imposter hoped that once they reached the wilderness God would intervene. In fact for all these "sign-prophets" the Romans intervene and, excepting the Egyptian who manages to flee, all are killed by Roman forces.

Finally, a weaver called Jonathan persuaded (ἀναπείθω) a number of people to go into the desert (εἰς τὴν ἔρημον) in search of signs and portents (σημεῖα καὶ φάσματα, *J.W* 7:438). Josephus even tells how Cyrenian Jewish nobility reported Jonathan's "exodus" (ἔξοδος) to governor Catallus (*J.W.* 7:439). What was not clear in the other accounts is explicit here: Jonathan's followers are easily overcome because they are unarmed (ὁ δ' ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἀποστείλας ῥαδίως ἐκράτησεν ἀνόπλων, *War* 7:440).[17] Horsley argues that the same

[14] Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 454.

[15] Feldman, *Josephus IX*, LCL (1965), 491.

[16] Hengel, *The Zealots*, 232.

[17] Hengel, *The Zealots*, 233. However, as Eve (*The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 310) argues, Josephus' account of Jonathan in Life 424 suggests that he may have been an armed insurrectionist

is likely to be true of Theudas and the Egyptian.[18] If so, this might explain why violent Roman suppression of non-military popular prophetic movements often lead to renewed violence from Jewish fighters (e.g. *Ant.* 20.172).

These examples show that first-century Jews might plan and attempt to carry out actions that were analogous to events in scripture.[19] They are evidence that there appears to have been a popular climate of expectation for God's intervention and that this intervention was expected to resemble God's great acts of the scriptural past.[20]

### *§2.2.2 Divine Providence*

Josephus provides evidence for the theological convictions behind such typological thinking. The sign-prophets hoped that signs and wonders would occur according to God's foreknowledge (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, *Ant.* 20:168), or, as Louis Feldman translates, "in harmony with God's design."[21] Josephus uses the word πρόνοια to express that God governs (ἐπιτροπεύω) and steers (κυβερνάω) the world (κόσμος) and is the one who "holds its reins" (ἡνίοχος, *Ant.* 10.278).[22] For Josephus, a belief in God's providence (πρόνοια) is a fundamental belief of all Jews (*Ag. Ap.* 2.180). This generalisation is supported by other contemporary texts (e.g. Rom 9:11-18; Wis 14:3; Philo, *Opif* 171-72).[23]

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and that the religious features in Josephus' account in *J.W.* are due to the fact that 'Josephus tended to conform his charlatan stories to a standard pattern' (p. 307).

[18] Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 460.

[19] In general there is evidence of a pattern of aspirant messianic prophets who promised to reproduce scriptural miracles as signs of their "credibility" and "indicated to observers that the drama of salvation was underway." John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 217–19.

[20] Barnett, 'The Jewish Sign Prophets', 679–97.

[21] Feldman, *Josephus IX*, 479.

[22] Paul Spilsbury, 'Flavius Josephus on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire', *JTS* 54 (2003): 7.

[23] Spilsbury, 'Flavius Josephus on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire', 7.

The difficulty of assessing someone else's motivations through a polemical source like Josephus must be recognised.[24] Yet, "Josephus does not completely obscure the Jewish apocalyptic features of these prophetic movements with his Hellenistic terminology and personal hostility."[25] Josephus grudgingly acknowledges the piety of these prophetic groups (χειρὶ μὲν καθαρώτερον, *J.W.* 2.258) and communicates that they, like himself, have a firm belief in divine providence.[26]

Josephus uses πρόνοια 160 times in his corpus, sometimes for human planning but frequently for divine providence.[27] When his life is threatened by a shipwreck (*Life* 15), a suicide pact (*J.W.* 3.391), or when denounced by rivals in Rome (*Life* 425), it is the providence (πρόνοια) of God which allows him to escape. But Josephus' belief in providence was not just based on personal experience. In *Ant.* 10.277-80 he makes the argument (against the Epicureans) "that Daniel's ability to predict the future demonstrates that the course of history is preordained by God."[28] Scriptural prediction shows both God's involvement in history and foresight regarding it.

In the NT the word πρόνοια is not used. However, its cognate verb, προνοέω, is used of human provision or forethought in Rom 12:17; 2 Cor 8:21; 1 Tim 5:8. But the sentiment remains. God foreknows (πρόγνωσις, Acts 2:23; προγινώσκω, Rom 8:29) and predestines (προορίζω, Acts 4:28; 1 Cor 2:7) his plan (οἰκονομία, Eph 1:10) for human history. In the Gospels it is expressed in the conviction that the scriptures are being fulfilled in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth (e.g. Mark 1:2-3; Matt 26:24; Luke 4:21; John 12:14).

[24] Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 444; Helen K. Bond, 'Josephus and the New Testament', in *A Companion to Josephus*, ed. Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers, BCAW (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 150–51.

[25] Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 455.

[26] Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 456.

[27] See also similar uses of πρόνοια in 3 Macc 5:30; 4 Macc 13:19; 17:22; Wis 14:3.

[28] Spilsbury, 'Flavius Josephus on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire', 7.

### *§2.2.3 Josephus and Jeremiah*

Although Josephus is dismissive of the sign-prophets, he engages in similar typological identification in reflecting on his own life. Rather than Moses or Joshua, Josephus sees the pattern of some other scriptural figures being re-worked in his own life.

In *J.W.* 5.391-93 he explicitly compares himself to Jeremiah as a prophet trying to warn of destruction, but (according to him) Josephus' hearers treat him worse than did Jeremiah's.[29] Shaye Cohen states that in *Antiquities* 10, which paraphrases much of the book of Jeremiah, "Josephus stresses precisely those parts of Jeremiah's life which parallel his own."[30] Further, David Daube argues that "Several of [Josephus'] details about Jeremiah have no basis in scripture or tradition but are intelligible as retrojections of what he himself did or suffered."[31]

In Jer 38:17-26 there is no mention of the Temple in Jeremiah's conversation with king Zedekiah. But when Josephus retells this conversation (*Ant.* 10.126-28) the Temple is a prominent concern, as it is in Josephus' Jeremiah-like appeal to his countrymen (*J.W.* 5.362, 391, 406, 411). In Jer 40:1-5 when the Babylonian commander gives Jeremiah his liberty there is no mention of Baruch. But when Josephus recounts the story (*Ant.* 10.156-59) Jeremiah successfully pleads for his servant Baruch, just as Josephus interceded for his family, friends and former acquaintances (*Life* 418-21). When Josephus describes Jeremiah's prophecies concerning Jerusalem, he asserts that Jeremiah spoke of both the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and also the Roman conquest, "what has happened now in our time" (τὴν νῦν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν γενομένην , Ant. 10:79).[32] For Daube, "It is Josephus' blurring of himself and Jeremiah that causes him to see Lamentations – and doubtless, quite a few chapters of the book of Jeremiah – as envisaging his own experiences."[33]

Josephus also describes Jesus ben Ananus (*War*. 6.300-309), who preached in the Temple, emulating and quoting Jeremiah (Jer 7:34; 13:27) and who, like Jeremiah, was also physically

[29] David Daube, 'Typology in Josephus', *JJS* 31 (1980): 20.

[30] Shaye J. D. Cohen, 'Josephus, Jeremiah, and Polybius', *History and Theory* 21 (1982): 368.

[31] Daube, 'Typology in Josephus', 26.

[32] Cohen, 'Josephus, Jeremiah, and Polybius', 368; see also Ralph Marcus, *Josephus VI*, LCL (1937/51), 200-1 note c.

[33] Daube, 'Typology in Josephus', 27.

persecuted for his behaviour (Jer 20:1-2).[34] Trumbower writes of Jesus ben Ananias and Theudas "each man . . . thought that an example from the biblical past was occurring again in his own day. Each man consciously based his actions on a particular understanding of that ancient tradition."[35] What Trumbower appears to miss is that the same can be said of Josephus.

It is a commonplace, even today, that someone who has nearly died and had an unexpected reprieve feels a new sense of purpose to their lives. Josephus' three near-death experiences (*J.W.* 3.391; *Life* 15, 425) could be expected to make him relate to those in scripture whose lives were saved for a divine purpose, especially those who, like Josephus, also received and interpreted dreams (*J.W.* 3.351-54; *Life* 208-10) and rose to high rank in the courts of foreign rulers. Daube compiles a number of possible influences from Josephus' life upon the stories of Joseph, Daniel and Esther-Mordecai in his *Antiquities*.[36] Most immediately compelling is Daniel's use of an intermediary, Arioch, in Josephus' version of Dan 2:16 (*Ant.* 10.198-99). This detail could well reflect the way Titus facilitated Josephus' audience with Vespasian (*J.W.* 3.392-99).[37] Likewise, the axe-wielding guards of Ahasuerus (*Ant.* 11.205), not mentioned in Esther, could reflect Vespasian's guards, of whom Josephus had direct experience (*J.W.* 4.629).[38]

It is apparent then, that Josephus not only describes typological thinking in those he disapproves of but also performs it himself towards different ends. As Josephus identified himself with scriptural characters, small details were added to bring the analogy closer.[39]

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[34] 'It is significant that Josephus mentions attempts to suppress Jesus only by the aristocratic Jewish ruling group, who controlled the society in collaboration with the Romans, for it would have fit Josephus' own propaganda to be able to mention that "the Zealots" or another group of insurgents had silenced a prophet of judgment against the city.' So Horsley, 'Like One of the Prophets of Old', 451.

[35] Jeremy A. Trumbower, 'The Role of Malachi in the Career of John the Baptist', in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 32.

[36] Daube, 'Typology in Josephus', 27–32.

[37] Daube, 'Typology in Josephus', 28–29.

[38] Daube, 'Typology in Josephus', 29.

[39] This may well have operated in both directions, but we do not have anyway of judging this with Josephus' own *Life*.

Thus typology also operates as a form of literary production, as the writer seeks to strengthen the analogies already perceived between scriptural and recent people and events.

### *§2.2.4 Typology in Josephus*

The above survey of Josephus suggests that typological thinking is not restricted to one group or expression, but was apparently widespread within first-century Palestinian Judaism. Commoners-turned-oracular-prophets (Jesus ben Ananus), leaders of mass movements (e.g. Theudas), and educated erstwhile-Pharisees (Josephus), despite their considerable differences in expression, all possess the broadly comparable convictions about God, providence and scripture. These convictions could be applied to concrete religious-political action or reflected in the production of texts. Thus, it is plausible that other first-century Jews, both individuals and groups, could have acted in ways that imitated scriptural stories and might assimilate stories that they identified with scriptural miracles to those same miracles.

To transpose this conclusion to the Gospel of Mark, it is plausible that Jesus and his disciples could have acted in ways that imitated scriptural stories and that in the oral and written transmission of the memories and traditions of Jesus accounts of these acts might be (further) assimilated to those scriptural miracles to which they bore some analogy.

## §2.3 Typology in Early Jewish Literature

### *§2.3.1 Hebrew Scriptures*

The Jewish Scriptures which later became the Christian Old Testament are the primary source which Mark cites, from which Mark quotes and to which Mark makes allusion. That some of the books that constitute this source make use of typological composition and interpretation provides one possible influence on Mark's use of typology.

Within the Hebrew Scriptures, alongside atomistic reuse of individual words and phrases without much attention to their wider literary context, there are also examples of the

evocation of "wider arguments or patterns."[40] An example of this is Michael Lyons' suggestion that Psalm 22 employs the argument of Isaiah 54, 56-66.[41] This explain a distinctive feature of this psalm that connects "deliverance from suffering to an eschatological outlook."[42]

> Although Psalm 22 contains vocabulary associated with the individual Suffering Servant figure of Isaiah 40-55, it is contextualized in the psalm in a way that has been influenced by the argument of chaps. 54, 56-66, in which a righteous community (the "servants") will suffer and be vindicated like the individual servant.[43]

Lyons notes the following correspondences between Isaiah 54, 56-66 and Psalm 22:

1) A righteous community (the servants/offspring, Isa 57:1) or a righteous individual (Ps 22:2-22) is persecuted.
2) They are both mocked for their trust in YHWH (Isa 66:5; Ps 22:8-9).
3) They are both vindicated (Isaiah 65:13-15; 66:2, 5-6; Ps 22:22-27).
4) The language of Psalm 22:30-31, "and the one who did not keep himself alive, offspring will serve him" (ונפשו לא חיה זרע יעבדנו) appears to draw on the language of offspring and serving in Isaiah 54, 56-66 (e.g. for זרע Isa 61:9; 65:9, 23; 66:22; for עבד 54:17; 65:8-9, 13-15; 66:14).
5) Both texts share an eschatological outlook where YHWH is recognised by the nations (Isa 66:18; Ps 22:28) and YHWH's deeds are proclaimed to them (Isa 66:19; Ps 22:31-32).

Noticeably this "argument" in both Isaiah and the Psalm has a narrative shape. Persecution and mockery are followed by vindication, offspring, and eschatological worship and proclamation of Israel's God. Both large scale and small scale narrative patterns appear to characterise the composition of the Hebrew Scriptures.

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[40] William A. Tooman, 'Scriptural Reuse in Ancient Jewish Literature: Comments and Reflections on the State of the Art', in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 31–34, at 34.

[41] Lyons, 'Psalm 22 and the "Servants" of Isaiah 54; 56-66'; Tooman, 'Scriptural Reuse in Ancient Jewish Literature', 33.

[42] Lyons, 'Psalm 22 and the "Servants" of Isaiah 54; 56-66', 644.

[43] Lyons, 'Psalm 22 and the "Servants" of Isaiah 54; 56-66', 650.

An example of a larger scale pattern is found in Genesis 1-11. There is an initial pattern of creation (1:1-2:24), fall and exile (3:1-23), family strife and a curse (4:3-16), two genealogies (4:17-5:32) and transgressed heavenly boundaries (6:1-4). This pattern is then repeated with variation: a re-creation (Gen 6:5-9:17), family strife and a curse (9:20-27), a genealogy (10:1-32), an attempt to transgress heavenly boundaries (11:1-9), and a second genealogy (11:10-26).[44] Thus within the repeated pattern, typologies can be seen to emerge. Hence Noah is a type of Adam. And the sinful heaven-to-earth transgression of the "sons of God" finds its counterpart in the sinful earth-to-heaven intent of the builders at Babel.

Abram and Sarai's sojourn in Egypt (Gen 12:10-13:2) contains several correspondences with the larger story of Israel's Exodus. Abram and Israel both,

1) Migrate to Egypt in time of famine, Gen 12:10; 42-46.
2) Prosper while in Egypt, Gen 12:16; Exod 1:7.
3) Pharaoh is afflicted with plagues because of his treatment of Sarai/Israel, Gen 10:17; Exod 7-12.
4) As a result Pharaoh sends them away, Gen 12:20; Exod 12:31.
5) And they both leave with wealth and possessions, Gen 13:2; Exod 12:35, 38.

A separate but related correspondence occurs between Gen 15:7 and Exod 20:2 where there is a marked similarity in language.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gen 15:7 | אני יהוה אשר הוצאתיך מאור כשדים | I am the LORD who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans |
| Exod 20:2 | אנכי יהוה אלהיך אשר הוצאתיך מארץ מצרים | I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt |

Regarding these correspondences Moberly argues, "The point of this choice of language is presumably typological. As YHWH brought Israel out of Egypt, so YHWH brought Abraham out of Ur. Abraham's story is seen as a parallel to Israel's story, and Abraham in some sense personifies and embodies Israel's experience."[45]

[44] Jerome T. Walsh, *Style and Structure in Biblical Hebrew Narrative* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2001), 111–13; Tooman, 'Scriptural Reuse in Ancient Jewish Literature', 34.

[45] Walter Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1992), 143.

The account of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is framed by two key words: God's intention to test (נסה) Abraham and the resulting discovery that Abraham fears (ירא) God (Gen 22:12). Both these terms are significant in the account of Israel's own testing and fear of God (Exod 1:4; Deut 5:29; 8:2; 10:12-22). But the only other time they occur together is Exod 20:20, after the giving of the Decalogue, where Moses says "God has come only to test (נסה) you and to put the fear (יראה) of him upon you so that you do not sin." Abraham also provides a model for Israel by making his sacrifice at the place of God's choosing (Gen 22:2-3), which Israel will also be commanded to do (Exod 20:24; Deut 12:5). In this instance, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac functions as an ethical type, an exemplar for Israel to imitate, a "typological embodiment of Israel's obedience to Torah."[46]

Perhaps the most significant character for typology in the Hebrew Bible is Moses. Allison has demonstrated the influence of Moses on the portrayals of Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, David, Elijah, Josiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah.[47] Here, I will briefly explore the way Joshua and the conquest of Canaan typologically corresponds to Moses and the Exodus.[48]

Both Moses and Joshua:

1) Send spies into the land (Num 13; Josh 2).
2) Are told the inhabitants of the land fear them and are "melting away" (Exod 15; Josh 2).
3) Lead Israel to celebrate the passover (Exod 12; Josh 5:10-13).
4) Experience a theophany and are told to take off their shoes because they stand on holy ground (Exod 3; Josh 5).
5) Successfully intercede when Israel sins (Deut 9; Josh 7).
6) Win a battle by holding a certain position with their arms (Exod 17; Josh 8).
7) Deliver similar farewell speeches, complete with a "two ways" conclusion (Deut 1-34; Josh 23-24).
8) Mediate a covenant which the people promise to obey (Exod 24; Josh 24).

[46] Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament*, 145.

[47] Allison, *The New Moses*, 11–62. Allison goes on to discuss Moses typology in 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and Rabbinic literature, 62-95.

[48] Allison, *The New Moses*, 23–28; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 358–59.

This typology is rendered explicit in the text of Josh 3:7 "I [YHWH] will be with you as I was with Moses"; 4:14 "they stood in awe of him, as they had stood in awe of Moses"; and 4:22-24 "the LORD your God dried up the waters of the Jordan for you . . . as the LORD your God did to the Red Sea." For Allison, "Surely it would be a dull or uninformed reader who does not recognize that the life of Joshua is to a significant degree a replay of the life of Moses."[49] The same connection between Moses and Joshua is made by the repeated juxtaposition of the fleeing (נוס) sea and turning (סבב) Jordan in Ps 114:3, 5. Fishbane argues, "for the ancient liturgist these two historical moments were not thoroughly disparate events . . . [but] a remanifestation of divine redemptive power."[50]

In the prophetic literature there is an expectation of eschatological recapitulation in the typological reappearance of heroes, institutions and events from the past: a second David (Isa 11:1-5; Jer 23:5; Ezek 34:24),[51] a second Elijah (Mal 4:5), a second Temple (Ezek 40-48), a new covenant (Isa 61:8; Jer 31:33-34; Ezek 37:26), and a new creation (Isa 65:17ff; 66:22; 11:1ff; 65:23ff; Jer 31:27-28; Ezek 34:25ff; 36:35).[52]

Arguably the most prominent typology in the prophetic books is the figuring of the rescue from exile in Babylon as a "new exodus." This typology is made explicit at a number of points (e.g. Isa 11:15-16; 43:16-21; 48:20-21; 51:9-11; Jer 16:14-15; 23:7-8; Ezek 20:34-36; Hosea 9:3; 11:5, 11; Micah 7:14).[53] The reflection on a past deliverance might have been intended to encourage confidence in an anticipated deliverance but it also served as a means of contrast to highlight features of the new against the old. Isaiah 52, for example, compares Assyrian oppression to Egyptian oppression (52:4). But in contradistinction to the hasty flight of Israel from Egypt (Exod 12:11; Deut 16:3), in the new exodus, "you shall not go out in haste, and you shall not go in flight" (52:12). As Fishbane writes, "The new exodus will therefore not simply be a remanifestation of an older prototype, but will have qualitative

[49] Allison, *The New Moses*, 26.

[50] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 359–60.

[51] Stephen Westerholm and Martin Westerholm, *Reading Sacred Scripture: Voices from the History of Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2016), 42.

[52] Foulkes, 'The Acts of God', 358–63.

[53] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 353, 361–62; Foulkes, 'The Acts of God', 354–56; Westerholm and Westerholm, *Reading Sacred Scripture*, 42.

distinctions of its own."[54] Notably in this instance, the new improves upon a less desirable aspect (the hasty flight) of the old.

The new exodus is also dramatically wider in its redeeming scope. In Isa 19:19-25 language from Exod 3:7-10; 7:27; 12:23; 8:16-24 and Josh 24:5 is used in an "audacious inversion and transfer of a national tradition of redemption to the very people – the Egyptians – who were its original enslaver."[55] Ultimately, even the Assyrians are included in the blessing and both Egyptians and Assyrians are included in the blessing of being God's people alongside Israel (Isa 19:23-25). Thus, what was once an act of particular salvation for Israel from oppressive Egyptians becomes, in the typological imagination of Isaiah, the pre-figuration of a universal salvation including even the Egyptians and Assyrians.

### *§2.3.2 Tobit*

The book of Tobit, a romance most likely dating between 250-175 B.C., uses the patriarchal stories of Genesis for its "basic plot and substructure."[56] It contains a "rich matrix of allusions and narrative mimicry" reusing the stories of the patriarchs, as well as Deut 31-32 and Job.[57]

Among its intertextual features,[58] the book's namesake, Tobit, displays many characteristics that correspond to the biblical patriarchs:

1) Tobit walks in righteousness like Abraham (Tob 1:3; 7:7; 9:6; Gen 15:6; 17:1; 24:40).
2) Like the patriarchs, Tobit prays (Tob 3:2-6; 11:14-15; 13:1-18; Gen 15:1-5; 18:22-33; 25:21-23).

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[54] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 364; see also Foulkes, 'The Acts of God', 355.

[55] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 367.

[56] L.R. Helyer, "Tobit," DNTB, 1238-39.

[57] Tooman, 'Scriptural Reuse in Ancient Jewish Literature', 29. See also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 35–36; Carey A. Moore, *Tobit*, AB 40A (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 20–21.

[58] See further Irene Nowell, 'The Book of Tobit: An Ancestral Story', in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit*, ed. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp, CBQM 38 (Washington, DC.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 3–13; Anathea Portier-Young, '"Eyes to the Blind": A Dialogue between Tobit and Job', in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit*, ed. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp, CBQM 38 (Washington, DC.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 14–27.

3) Like Abraham, God tests Tobit (Tob 12:14; Gen 22:1) and both are found to fear God (Tob 14:2; Gen 22:12); and both live to an impressive old age (Tob 14:1; Gen 25:7).
4) Like Isaac, Tobit suffers blindness (Tob 2:10; Gen 27:1).
5) Like Jacob, Tobit summons his family for prophecy of the future and final instructions before he passes away (Tob 14:2; Gen 48-49).[59]
6) Sarah, daughter of Raguel, is beautiful like Sarah, wife of Abraham (Tob 6:12; Gen 12:14); is also childless (Tob 3:9, 15; Gen 11:30); and also suffers the reproaches of family servants (Tob 3:7; Gen 16:4).[60]

A further prominent example is the way Tobit 7:3-5 (especially in $G^I$, the shorter recension)[61] is modelled upon Gen 29:4-6:

| Tob 7:3 $G^I$ | NETS Tob 7:3 $G^I$ | LXX Gen 29:4 | NRSV Gen 29:4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| [3] καὶ ἠρώτησεν αὐτοὺς Ραγουηλ **πόθεν ἐστέ ἀδελφοί** καὶ **εἶπαν** αὐτῷ **ἐκ** τῶν υἱῶν Νεφθαλι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν Νινευη | [3] And Raguel asked them, "Where are you from brothers?" And they said to him, "We belong to the children of Nephthaleim who are captives in Nineue." | εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ιακωβ **ἀδελφοί πόθεν ἐστὲ** ὑμεῖς οἱ δὲ **εἶπαν ἐκ** Χαρραν ἐσμέν | Jacob said to them, "My brothers, where do you come from?" They said, "We are from Haran." |
| [4] **καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς γινώσκετε** Τωβιτ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν **οἱ δὲ εἶπαν γινώσκομεν** | [4] So he said to them, "Do you know Tobit our kinsman?" And they said, "We do know him." | [5] **εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς γινώσκετε** Λαβαν τὸν υἱὸν Ναχωρ **οἱ δὲ εἶπαν γινώσκομεν** | [5] He said to them, "Do you know Laban son of Nahor?" They said, "We do." |
| [5] **καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὑγιαίνει οἱ δὲ εἶπαν** καὶ ζῇ καὶ **ὑγιαίνει** καὶ εἶπεν Τωβιας πατήρ μού ἐστιν | [5] Then he said to them, "Is he in good health?" And they said, "He is both alive and in good health." And Tobias said, "He is my father!" | [6] **εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑγιαίνει οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὑγιαίνει** καὶ ἰδοὺ Ραχηλ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἤρχετο μετὰ τῶν προβάτων … | [6] He said to them, "Is it well with him?" "Yes," they replied, "and here is his daughter Rachel, coming with the sheep." … |
| [6] καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν Ραγουηλ καὶ **κατεφίλησεν** αὐτὸν | [6] Then Raguel jumped up and kissed him and wept. | [11] καὶ **ἐφίλησεν** Ιακωβ τὴν Ραχηλ καὶ βοήσας τῇ φωνῇ αὐτοῦ | [11] Then Jacob kissed Rachel and wept aloud |

[59] Nowell, 'The Book of Tobit: An Ancestral Story', 4–6.

[60] Nowell, 'The Book of Tobit: An Ancestral Story', 6–7.

[61] The shorter recension is now, due to the finds at Qumran (4Q196-200), overwhelmingly considered to be the later text (see Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 4–5; Moore, *Tobit*, 53–56). This is not an issue here as, in this instance, the shorter text simplifies and clarifies the longer one. It either reveals what was originally there, or demonstrates the tendency of the redactor to further assimilate the text to the biblical story of which it was already reminiscent.

καὶ **ἔκλαυσε** **ἔκλαυσεν**

In both form and at points in exact wording (in bold), the arrival of Tobias at Raguel's house matches that of Jacob's meeting of Rachel.[62] Notably, although the conversation follows the same pattern, the roles of guest and host are reversed in Tobit, as it is the host, Raguel, who questions the travellers, whereas in Genesis it is Jacob, the visitor, that questions the shepherds at the well. In both passages there is a movement from conversation with a group to the recognition of a special individual.

At no point is the author of Tobit explicit about these literary typologies or why they are employed. Nowell suggests that this "brings encouragement to its audience, Jews living in the Diaspora. God's promises to the ancestors have not failed; the ancient stories are still reflected in the daily lives of faithful people."[63] Despite its appearance as romance, in this way the story of Tobit is itself an appropriation and interpretation of the scriptures for its contemporary audience. The typology employed has no sense of eschatological fulfilment but serves an ethical-rhetorical function to portray its heroes in the mould of previous scriptural characters.

### *§2.3.3 1 Maccabees*

1 Maccabees was most likely written between 103 and 63 B.C.[64] In pursuing its agenda to support the Hasmonean dynasty as legitimate priest-kings of Israel it employs literary typology to portray the Hasmoneans in the mould of biblical heroes.

The author of 1 Maccabees explicitly corresponds Mattathias with Phineas (1 Macc 2:26; cf. Num 25:1-15). As Goldstein comments, "Both words and content follow the model."[65] Both Phineas and Mattathias operate at a time of God's wrath against the nation (Num 25:3; 1

[62] Fitzmyer (*Tobit*, 228) considers the 'phraseology of [Tobit 7:6] dependent on the Hebrew of Gen 29:11 (meeting of Jacob and Rachel); or Gen 33:4 (meeting of Esau and Jacob); or 45:14 (meeting of Joseph and Benjamin.' While this shows the evocative power of this particular phrase, the narrative form of this section of Tobit suggests that Gen 29 is the primary influence.

[63] Nowell, 'The Book of Tobit: An Ancestral Story', 13.

[64] Jonathan A. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, AB 41 (Garden City, NY.: Doubleday, 1976), 63.

[65] Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 6.

Macc 1:64). On seeing wickedness they both rise and leave (1 Macc 2:1-6; Num 25:7). They both kill a man in the act of committing an offending sin (1 Macc 2:24; Num 25:8). The typology is reinforced by the explicit claim of Mattathias' descent from Eleazar and Phineas (1 Macc 2:1, 54). The typology extends to the son of Mattathias, Judas, who as a destroyer of the ungodly, like Phineas, turns God's wrath away from the people (1 Macc 3:8; Num 25:11). Considering the intended effect, Goldstein concludes, "as Phineas was rewarded by being made the founder of a high priestly line (Num 25:12-13), so will Mattathias be rewarded."[66]

Alongside the priestly typology of Phineas, there is another typology that biblically ratifies the Hasmonean claim to kingship. Mattathias is like David in his flight to the mountains (1 Macc 2:27-28, 42-43; 1 Sam 22:1-2; 23:14). Both flights are followed by a massacre of innocents (1 Macc 2:29-38; 1 Sam 22:7-19). Both become outlaw fugitives but still fight loyally for Israel (1 Macc 2:44-48; 1 Sam 23:1-5). Both legislate for the sake of Israel (1 Macc 2:39-41; 1 Sam 30:22-25).[67] Again the typology is extended to Judas. Judas is like Jonathan in disdaining larger forces and his confidence in winning battles "by many or by few" (1 Macc 3:18; 1 Sam 14:6). When Judas dies Israel's mourning for Judas (1 Macc 9:21) is reminiscent of David's at Jonathan's death (2 Sam 1:19).[68]

The dying speech of Mattathias to his sons (1 Macc 2:49-70) imitates the death of Jacob (Gen 49). Both death speeches give predictions for their sons' future (Gen 49:1-28; 1 Macc 2:64-66), and instructions for what to do next (Gen 49:29; 1 Macc 2:67-68). Both Jacob and Mattathias die once their speech is finished (Gen 49:33; 1 Macc 2:69). Both speakers were buried in ancestral burial sites accompanied by national mourning (Gen 50:1-14; 1 Mac 2:70).[69] This correspondence further resonates in the next chapter when Judas, Mattathias' son, is described: "He was like a lion in his deeds, like a lion's cub roaring for prey" (1 Macc 3:4). With Mattathias' Jacob-like speech still recent in the readers' memory it is a clear allusion to Judah's description as a lion's whelp in Jacob's speech (Gen 49:9).[70]

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[66] Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 7; see also Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 11–12.

[67] Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 7.

[68] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 12.

[69] Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 239.

[70] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 11.

Within 1 Maccabees, then, there is a typological tendency to portray its heroes as recurrences of biblical characters. There is no sense of eschatological fulfilment, only the ethical-rhetorical effect of portraying these men in the mould of scriptural exemplars.

### *§2.3.4 Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*

Pseudo-Philo retells the story of Genesis–Kings but integrates many other Jewish traditions and scriptures into the narrative. Generally held to be a first-century or early second-century text,[71] it is a Jewish text roughly contemporaneous with Mark. At points it is explicitly, and elsewhere probably implicitly, composed by conflating analogous scriptures. Moreover, in the LAB the juxtaposition of scriptures without explanatory comment arguably serves interpretational aims. As Fisk writes, "biblical allusion *functions as exegesis*."[72] In some places this reworking displays typological tendencies.[73] As Richard Bauckham writes, "one of the most prominent characteristics of Pseudo-Philo's work is the way he constantly draws attention to the parallels between biblical events, usually by the device of speeches which recall earlier events in the context of later events."[74] A clear example of this is LAB 12:1, which recounts Moses' descent from Sinai.

> And Moses came down. And when he had been bathed with invisible light, he went down to the place where the light of the sun and the moon are; and the light of his face surpassed the splendour of the sun and the moon, and he did not even know this. And when he came down to the sons of Israel, they saw him but did not recognize him. But when he spoke, they recognized him. And this was like what happened in Egypt when Joseph recognised his brothers but they did not recognize him. And afterward, when Moses realized that his face had become glorious, he made a veil for himself with which to cover his face. (LAB 12:1)[75]

[71] Bruce N. Fisk, "Pseudo-Philo," DNTB, 865.

[72] Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?*, 21, emphasis original.

[73] My analysis of Pseudo-Philo suggests that there are explicit typologies in LAB 9:5; 12:3; 14:6; 17:1-4; 19:11; 37:1-5; 40:2; 43:5; 53:10; 57:2; 59:4; 61:2-3. I also find implicit typologies in LAB 6:1-18; 12:7; 20:2; 31:3-9; 32:1; 38:2; 39:3; 48:1; 56:6; 61:9; 65:4-5. I can only discuss a representative sample here.

[74] Richard Bauckham, 'The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo and the Gospels as "Midrash"', in *Studies in Midrash and Historiography*, ed. R. T. France and David Wenham, Gospel Perspectives, III (London: Bloomsbury, 1981), 41.

[75] OTP 2:319, italics original.

Here the retelling of Exod 34:29-35 is explicitly related to Gen 42:8, regarding Joseph (cf. LAB 8:10). In the process the story of Moses is assimilated to that of Joseph. In Exod 34:29-35, there is no mention of Israel's inability to recognize Moses. However, the correspondence between "all the Israelites" and the brothers of Joseph (sons of Israel) and their fear when beholding a transformed Moses/Joseph is made explicit by the phrase "this was like what happened in Egypt . . ." and the double quotation of Gen 42:8 (והם לא הכרהו / δὲ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν).[76]

Another explicit correspondence is made in LAB 15:6. There God recounts the crossing of the Red Sea to Moses: "And there was never anything like this event since the day I said, '*let the waters under heaven be gathered into one place,'* until this day."[77] For Pseudo-Philo the dividing of the waters in Exodus 14 corresponds to the gathering of the waters in Gen 1:9.[78]

Similarly in LAB 19:11, God says of Moses' staff,

> And your staff will be before me as a reminder all the days, and it will be like the bow with which I established my covenant with Noah when he went forth from the ark, saying '*I will place my bow in the cloud, and it will be a sign between me and men that never again will the flood water cover all the earth.*'[79]

Jacobson suggests Moses' rod has been conflated with Aaron's rod in Num 17:25 and is then connected to Gen 9:13 by the shared word, לאות, "a sign for".[80] Building on Jacobson, Fisk argues that both bow and staff are "weighted symbols for two eternal covenants."[81] Moses' rod, in its function as a covenant memorial and through the word לאות, corresponds in Pseudo-Philo's typological imagination to the rainbow of Gen 9:13, 15.

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[76] Frederick J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1993), 69.

[77] OTP 2:323, italics original.

[78] Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, AGJU XXXI (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1.548; the same connection is made in the rabbinic tradition in *Exod. Rab.* 21.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 42.

[79] OTP 2:328, italics original.

[80] Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1.638-39.

[81] Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?*, 281.

While these correspondences explicitly display the typology influencing some of Pseudo-Philo's compositional and interpretational decisions there may also be more implicit typologies. One such possibility is LAB 12:7. In the retelling of Exod 32:19-20, where Moses forces the Israelites to drink water with the ground-up golden calf, Pseudo-Philo elaborates, "And if anyone had it in his will and mind that the calf be made, his tongue was cut off; but if he had been forced by fear to consent, his face shone."[82] This tradition can be explained as an allusion to Numbers 5, a prescription for a woman accused of adultery to drink bitter water to determine her guilt and either suffer pain and infertility if guilty or immunity if innocent. It is likely a link has been made between the alleged adulteress of Numbers 5 and unfaithful Israel of Exodus 32 (cf. Ezekiel 16; Hosea 2). They both drink water with something added, and consequently they both receive judgement.[83]

Another example of implicit typology is Phineas in LAB 48:1 who is assimilated to Elijah in being nourished by a bird at God's command and who shuts the heavens and opens them by his word (1 Kgs 17:1-7).[84] The analogy which allows for this assimilation of Phineas to Elijah is the appointment of a successor. As Elijah appoints Elisha (1 Kgs 19:19-21), Phineas appoints Eli (LAB 48:2). Jacobson goes so far as to comment "for LAB P[hineas] and Elijah are identical, they are the same person."[85]

[82] OTP 2:320.

[83] Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?*, 184–85; Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1.495; Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 72; the same connection is made in the rabbinic literature in Num Rab. 9.45-49; Pes Rab. 10.8.

[84] Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?*, 305.

[85] Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1.1060.

As Jacobson summarises, "LAB routinely contains themes, language, and elements of plot that are not present in the corresponding biblical narrative, but which he has borrowed from 'analogous' biblical contexts."[86] Bauckham argues that behind the typology of LAB is a "presupposition . . . that there is a consistency about God's acts in the history of his people, so that similar situations and events constantly recur."[87] Pseudo-Philo is thus a clear example of the use of literary typology which reveals an underlying conviction of typological recurrence based on God's providence.

Thus, in the Second Temple period scriptural correspondences to historical persons, folk tales, and even to other biblical stories were noticed, employed, and invested with meaning by authors composing their works. Such literary typology was a live option for Jewish authors up to (and beyond) the first century.

### §2.4 Typology in the Earlier New Testament

Accepting the critical consensus that Mark is the earliest of the four canonical Gospels and written around 70 A.D.,[88] the only NT works that are demonstrably earlier are the undisputed Pauline letters. Within a number of these we find typology being used. As letters, rather than narrative, the rhetorical intention of the author is (usually) less opaque.

In the letter to the Galatians, Paul's gives an "allegory" (ἀλληγορέω, 4:24) of Sarah and Hagar. In Paul's argument the two women correspond to two covenants and to two Jerusalems, and the correspondence is then extended to include the Galatian Christians.[89]

1) εἰσιν δύο διαθῆκαι, the women "are" two covenants (Gal 4:24).
2) Hagar corresponds (συστοιχέω) to the "present" (νῦν) Jerusalem because they are both slaves (4:25).
3) Sarah corresponds to Jerusalem "above" (ἄνω) because she is free (4:26).

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[86] Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo,* 1.225.

[87] Bauckham, 'The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo and the Gospels as "Midrash"', 41.

[88] See §1.4.2. Marcus, *Mark 1-8,* 37–39; Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Peabody, Mass.: A & C Black, 1991), 8; Boring, *Mark,* 14–15.

[89] While Fung (*The Epistle to the Galatians*, 206) prefers the NIV translation, 'These things may be taken figuratively,' De Boer (*Galatians*, 294–96) considers allegory to encompass variants including historical allegory and typology of which Gal 4:24-27 is an example.

4) The Galatian Christians accord with Isaac (κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ), as "children of the promise" (4:28).[90]
5) The Judaizers are "just as" (ὥσπερ) Ishmael, who was born according to the flesh (ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθείς), because they both persecute the child of the Spirit (τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα) (4:29, cf. Gen 21:9).
6) Consequently, Sarah's command to Abraham to drive Ishmael out for Isaac's protection (Gen 21:10) becomes pertinent to the current situation in the Galatian church, although Paul does not go as far as commanding the Galatians to drive out the Judaizers (Gal 4:30).
7) Paul then reiterates his point, "we are children, not of the slave but of the free woman," therefore they should not allow the Judaizers to enslave them to the law (4:31-5:1).

In present use, allegory is usually defined as a symbolic use of the words of a text without concern for their literal or historical meaning.[91] By contrast typology is usually defined as concerned with the analogy between facts; there is a real, not simply symbolic, correlation between the referent of the text and its interpretation. [92] In this understanding Gal 4:24-5:1 does not contain an allegory, but a typology. Paul is not suggesting that Sarah and Hagar were not historical persons. Rather, he is drawing correspondences between the Galatian church's controversy and the biblical narrative of conflict between Sarah and Hagar. The terminology of correspondence, συστοιχέω (4:25, a NT *hapax*), and of accordance, κατὰ + Acc. (4:28-29), reveal that what Paul is doing here fits well within my definition of typology. It seems likely that Paul's explicit correspondence was intended to imply that the Judaizers should be driven out,[93] but rather than stating that outright Paul leaves the Galatians to complete the sequence of correspondences.

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[90] 'Paul takes it as self-evident that a straight line runs through Sarah and Isaac, the covenant of faith (because it depends on promise), the Jerusalem above (v. 26), and Christians—these being held together and interrelated by the fact that freedom can be postulated of all of them, although it is explicitly postulated of the third members only.' Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 207.

[91] E.g. Goppelt, *Typos*, 7.

[92] On the anachronicity of this terminology and distinction see Young, 'The Fourth Century Reaction against Allegory', 120; Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria*, 15–17; Martens, 'Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction'.

[93] 'According to the Scripture they hold dear, these preachers [the Judaizers] are actually to be "thrown out" of the churches of Galatia!' so De Boer, *Galatians*, 307.

For Fung, "the kind of exegesis found in this passage is by no means generally characteristic of Paul" and so there must be "a special reason for its use here."[94] In my view, however, Sarah and Hagar are better understood here as types rather than allegories and so, arguably, Paul employs a similar exegetical approach in 1 Corinthians and Romans.

Regarding 1 Corinthians 5, Jin Hwang argues that Paul recognised a "situational similarity" between the crises in Numbers and in the Corinthian church, as they both feature division over leadership and problems of sexual morality and idolatry.[95] Unlike Gal 4, in 1 Corinthians Paul explicitly commands action regarding an incestuous Corinthian (1 Cor 5:1-5). He bolsters his apostolic command with a short typology.

1) The Corinthian's boasting is bad. It is like leaven, in that what seems like a small thing will affect the whole thing (1 Cor 5:6).
2) So they must "clean out the old yeast (leaven)" which will have the effect of renewing them as "unleavened bread" (5:7).
3) The mention of unleavened bread invokes the Passover, "our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed" (5:7). The Passover lamb is identified as Christ.
4) "Therefore let us celebrate the festival" (5:8). As in Gal 4, Paul refrains from spelling out the last correspondence of the typology. Here, he appears to leave open a wider application of the type to the whole of Christian conduct, beyond his already stated prescription (1 Cor 5:4-5).[96]
5) The typology is further reinforced by the Jewish technical term for communal discipline in v13, ἐξάρατε (cf. e.g. Deut 7:1; 17:7, 12; 19:19; 21:21).[97]

What begins as a metaphor of leaven and bread, evolves into a typology whereby the need for holy conduct is predicated upon Christ's sacrifice – rather than only Paul's command.[98]

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[94] Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 219.

[95] Jin K. Hwang, 'The Crises at Corinth and Paul's Use of Numbers in 1 Corinthians', in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, vol. 1: Thematic Studies, LNTS 391 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 200–202.

[96] Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 239.

[97] Hwang, 'The Crises at Corinth', 200; Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 22.

[98] It is also possible the mourning of 1 Cor 5:2 connects with the mourning of the Israelites in Num 25:6 where an Israelite had just committed conspicuous sexual sin. This is argued by Hwang, 'The Crises at Corinth', 203–4.

Whereas Gal 4 is a typology on a narrative, 1 Cor 5:6-8 is a typology on an scriptural institution. Furthermore, as Hays argues, "The text makes sense if and only if the readers of the letter embrace the typological correspondence between themselves and Israel."[99]

The paraenesis of 1 Cor 10:1-22 contains "an extended typological correspondence."[100]

1) The Israelites were "baptised into Moses" (1 Cor 10:1-2); Paul establishes a correspondence between ancient Israel and the Church via "baptism."[101]
2) Thus Paul also corresponds Christian baptism with the Exodus.[102]
3) Paul then corresponds the miraculous feeding of the Israelites to the Eucharist. They are both spiritual food and drink (10:3-4).[103]
4) Because the Eucharist is Christ's body and blood (1 Cor 11:23-26) that means that Christ was what the Israelites fed on and drank in the wilderness. To complete this correspondence Paul draws upon a Jewish tradition regarding a moving rock (10:4)[104]
5) Because the Israelites now correspond to the church through baptism, the Eucharist and the presence of Christ,[105] they become a negative example to the church of what happens when they disobey: "God was not pleased . . . they were struck down . . . as examples (τύποι) for us" (10:5-6).[106]

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[99] Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 24.

[100] Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 8.

[101] Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 490.

[102] Joseph Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, AYB 32 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008), 381.

[103] Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 382; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 492–93.

[104] See LAB 10:7, 'Now he led his people out into the wilderness; for forty years he rained down for them bread from heaven and brought quail to them from the sea and brought forth a well of water to follow them.' OTP 2:317; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 382–83; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 495–95.

[105] It can be argued that Christian baptism and Eucharist themselves assume typological reasoning as 'enactment of the saving events', so Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 209. Also, 'vv. 1-4 indicate to us that [Paul] considers baptism and participation in divine (spiritual) food and drink as the common experiences both communities share,' so Hwang, 'The Crises at Corinth', 199.

[106] "Because Paul uses typoi, we can understand the foreshadowing connotations of other terms already used in this section . . . " so Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 385.

6) The following paraenesis is then explicitly based on this typology (cf. 10:11, τυπικῶς) against idolatry, sexual immorality, testing Christ and complaining, in all of which the church is to avoid the Israelites' fate by avoiding their actions (10:6-13).[107]
7) Then the typology of negative moral example "flee idolatry" (10:14) is joined with a further Israel-church-idolatry typology of participation (10:16-21)[108] and concluded with a final Israel-church typology and the question "are we provoking the Lord to Jealousy?" (10:22; cf. Deut 32:21; Exod 32:5).[109]

The Corinthians' unawareness (1 Cor 10:1) is not regarding the content of the Exodus story, but their failure to appreciate the significance of that story for their own conduct.[110] That significance emerges from the correspondences between Israel and the believers and the consequent possibility of extrapolating consequences for sin from that typology.[111]

Fee argues that Paul's "varied use" of an Adam-Christ typology (1 Cor 15:21-22, 45-49; Rom 5:12-21), "suggests that it is a commonplace with Paul."[112] This will be further discussed below.[113] Romans 5:14 (Ἀδὰμ ὅς ἐστιν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος) along with 1 Cor 10:6 (τύποι) and 10:11 (τυπικῶς) suggest that my terminology of typology would have been understandable by Paul and is not absolutely anachronistic.[114]

In summary, in Gal 4 and 1 Cor 5:6-8 Paul takes recourse to typology during a divisive situation and with the intention to expel someone from the church community. Similarly, in 1 Cor 10:1-22 Paul employs extensive and overlapping typological reasons to hammer home dire warnings. These suggest that typology was an effective and compelling approach to

[107] Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 387.

[108] Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 511.

[109] Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 394.

[110] Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 488; Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 8.

[111] Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 11–12.

[112] Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 832. O'Neill makes an intriguing argument that, based on stylistic disconnect with surrounding sections, repetition of key words and a lack of rhetorical development within the pericope, Rom 5:12-21 reflects earlier (possibly Jewish) traditions which Paul is appropriating, John O'Neill, 'Adam Who Is the Figure of Him That Was To Come: A Reading of Romans 5:12-21', in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 183–200.

[113] See §2.7.5 below.

[114] See further Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 34–40.

scripture interpretation in the Pauline church communities, or at least that Paul thought it was. If typology could be used in such important situations by Paul then it is plausible that similar thinking could be used by Mark and in the early Christian communities for which Mark was written.

### §2.5 Scriptural Conflation

Related to the question of typology is the widespread early Jewish practice conflating scriptures.[115] This technique may have its roots in the exegesis of legal texts. As George Brooke argues, "A major feature of [the] halakhic materials [at Qumran] is the way that two or more scriptural passages are combined to create innovative interpretations of the tradition that permit the application of scriptural authority to new situations."[116]

Conflation is not restricted to legal material. In LAB 6:1-18 the story of Abraham is conflated with the story of Babel. This conflation happens presumably because the stories are adjacent to each other in Genesis and so the need was perceived to relate them. However, through the word play on Ur (אור, Gen 11:31) also being the Hebrew word for fire, Abraham becomes a survivor of the "fire" of the Chaldeans. This linkage through *fire* then provides the most likely explanation for the additional conflation of Meshach, Shadrach and Abednego's escape through fire (Dan 2:19-30) into the story of Abraham and the tower of Babel.[117]

Scriptures could be conflated because of a shared theme, shared words, textual proximity or simply because it suited the author's theological agenda. For example, Mal 3:1 and Isa 40:1, conflated in Mark 1:2-3, may have become associated through the distinctive phrase פנה

[115] Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?*, 28–32; Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 8; Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 15; Howard Clark Kee, 'The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16', in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kummel zum 70. Geburstag*, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Erich Gräßer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 179–81; Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 204–6.

[116] George J. Brooke, 'Shared Exegetical Traditions between the Scrolls and the New Testament', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 572; for further examples see the discussion of 11QTS in Stephen A. Kaufman, 'The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 53 (1982): 29–43.

[117] Evans, 'Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 154.

דרך.[118] By bringing two scriptural texts together a new text was created, but with the assumed authority of the earlier texts. Such conflations may be the work of a text's author or may have been received by the author as an already authoritative tradition.

This alerts us to a characteristic of scripture use in Mark's Gospel: "the fusion of one or more scriptural passages into one conflated citation."[119] Such conflations are often prominent and play an important role in the narrative (e.g. Mark 1:2-3; 1:11; 11:1-11; 11:17; 12:1-12; 13:24-26; 14:62).[120]

Where we can clearly see this ability to conflate scriptures in the issue of citations, we may also extrapolate the principle to narrative typologies. That is, in creating a narrative typology Mark is not restricted to only one allusion per narrative episode, or even at any one time. As discussed below, the baptism of Jesus (Mark 1:9-11) effectively evokes the Exodus, the Flood, and Isa 64:1 while quoting Ps 2:7 and Isa 42:1. In longer narrative passages there is proportionally greater opportunity for a range of allusions.

### §2.6 Greco-Roman Mimesis

Mimesis is one of the oldest and most fundamental terms in literary theory and has been fiercely contested.[121] Some recent biblical studies, which bear a strong methodological resemblance to the work I am doing here, have been carried out under the heading of mimesis.[122] However, mimesis is not a single thing but a range of interrelated phenomena with more specific meanings in different genres, from author to author, from work to work,

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[118] Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*, 73–74; Richard Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII* (Vallejo, CA.: BIBAL, 1994), 32.

[119] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 15.

[120] '[A]malgamation is the norm for Second Temple literature.' So Tooman, 'Scriptural Reuse in Ancient Jewish Literature', 29; see also Kee, 'The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16', 175–79.

[121] Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis*, The New Critical Idiom (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 1–7.

[122] E.g. Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); Brodie, *The Crucial Bridge*; Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative*; Joel L. Watts, *Mimetic Criticism and the Gospel of Mark: An Introduction and Commentary* (Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock, 2013).

and even within a work. Paul Woodruff observes, "Not even Plato is entirely consistent on the subject of mimesis."[123]

Two of its many possible senses are analogous to early Jewish and early Christian typology. First is the sense of mimesis as positive or negative moral imitation of an exemplar (Plato, *Rep.* 393-398; cf. Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 1176a17f; Plutarch, *Peri*, 1.4; 2.2; *Life of Aratus* 1.5; *De cap ex inin*, 92.e-f).[124] This compares to the ethical use of τύπος in the NT (Rom 6:17; Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:7; 1 Tim 1:16; 4:12; 2 Tim 1:13; 1 Peter 5:3).[125] Ethical imitation creates a motive for literary assimilation. As the new hero is portrayed in the terms of an established exemplar there may be transference of esteem and they are in turn presented as someone to imitate.[126]

Second is the sense of mimesis as "the relation of copy to model" (Plato, *Rep.* 596-599; *Tim.* 47b-c; Plutarch, *De glor. Ath.* 346f; 348b).[127] It is in this sense that the typology of Hebrews is sometimes considered Platonic. The correlation of an earthly form with a heavenly ideal, relates very closely to Christian "vertical" typology where earthly things are types of heavenly things.

However, when mimesis is invoked in biblical studies it is usually with a view to describing rhetorical imitation as the driving principle in the production of literature. While rhetorical imitation links to other senses of mimesis in terms of the relationship of a new text to a model or exemplar, a key distinction is that it concerns reproduction of style rather than content.[128]

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[123] Paul Woodruff, 'Aristotle on Mimesis', in *Essays on Aristotle's Poetics*, ed. Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 75.

[124] Potolsky, *Mimesis*, 21; Hallvard Fossheim, 'Mimesis in Aristotle's Ethics', in *Making Sense of Aristotle: Essays in Poetics*, ed. Øivind Andersen and Jon Haarberg (London: Duckworth, 2001), 73–86; Alexei V. Zadorojnyi, 'Mimesis and the (Plu)Past in Plutarch's Lives', in *Time and Narrative in Ancient Historiography: The 'Plupast' from Herodotus to Appian*, ed. Jonas Grethlein and Christopher B. Krebs (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 175–76, 183–93.

[125] Ounsworth, *Joshua Typology in the New Testament*, 34–35.

[126] Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 209.

[127] Rebecca Bensen Cain, 'Plato on Mimesis and Mirrors', *Philosophy and Literature* 36 (2012): 189; see also Woodruff, 'Aristotle on Mimesis', 77; Zadorojnyi, 'Mimesis and the (Plu)Past in Plutarch's Lives', 179; Potolsky, *Mimesis*, 26–27, 32–46.

[128] Andrew W. Pitts, 'The Origins of Greek Mimesis and the Gospel of Mark: Genre as Potential Constraint in Assessing Markan Imitation', in *Ancient Education and Early Christianity*, ed. Matthew

Prime examples of rhetorical imitation are Virgil's *Aeneid*, which imitates Homer's *Odyssey* and *The Iliad*, and the poetry of Horace, which imitates that of Sappho (*Ode* 4.1) and Pindar (*Ode* 4.2).[129] Discussions of such imitation can be found in many places in Greek and Roman literature (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 263-264; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 10; Cicero, *De Oratore* I.xxxiv.156; II.xxii-xxiii.92-96; Seneca *Ep* 84; *Controversiae* 1. Praef. 6; Longinus IV.xii-xiv; Quintilian *Inst. Ora.* v.vii.28; x.ii.2-8).[130]

It may well be that Greco-Roman rhetorical imitation influenced rewritten Bible in (Hellenized) Second Temple Judaism.[131] However, the ability and desire to imitate moral heroes, heavenly archetypes, or authoritative texts, was not isolated to the Greeks and Romans, but is an aspect of a more general human phenomenon (cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 4.1448b4-19).[132] In Mark's gospel the same data can be accounted for using Jewish examples of imitation and reuse (see above). Given Mark's explicit quotation of and dependence on the Jewish scriptures it seems unnecessary to posit a particularly Greco-Roman approach to the literary production of the Gospel. As Juel argues, Hellenistic literature is important to the study of the NT, "but the particular investment in Israel's heritage and Israel's Scriptures

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Ryan Hauge and Andrew W. Pitts, LNTS 533 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 114; Donald Lemen Clark, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (Morningside Heights, NY: Columbia University Press, 1957), 144–76; on a related point among classicists see also Stephen Halliwell, 'Aristotelian Mimesis and Human Understanding', in *Making Sense of Aristotle: Essays in Poetics*, ed. Øivind Andersen and Jon Haarberg (London: Duckworth, 2001), 88.

[129] Potolsky, *Mimesis*, 52–56.

[130] One concern raised by Andrew Pitts in regard to the application of mimesis as rhetorical imitation to Gospel criticism is the extent to which the presence of mimesis in a narrative implies the content of that narrative is entirely invented. Pitts argues that Greco-Roman mimesis implied no such thing: "That Xenophon framed his Phillidas narrative using Herodotus's account of the Persian envoys does not, on its own, entail invention. In fact given what we know about mimesis in historical theory, this was one way of preserving and presenting historical tradition." ('The Origins of Greek Mimesis and the Gospel of Mark', 135).

[131] Pitts, 'The Origins of Greek Mimesis and the Gospel of Mark', 107.

[132] Halliwell, 'Aristotelian Mimesis and Human Understanding', 88.

suggests that the most helpful analogies for our studies will be other Jewish scriptural interpretation, as practiced of course, in the Hellenized world."[133]

## §2.7 Method for Discerning Literary Typology

In this study, allusions to scriptural texts will be located by attention to correspondences in *words, motifs, characterisation, themes* and *narrative structure*.[134] The following examples from Mark's Gospel are not intended as definitive discussions of the texts but simply as illustrations of the method. Most of the examples are from the Gospel's prologue (Mark 1:1-13) where Mark begins his Gospel by programmatically integrating the scriptures into the story of Jesus (1:2-3) and Jesus into the story of the scriptures (1:4-13).[135] Thus, "der Hörer wird in die auktoriale Erzählperspektive eingeweiht."[136] This explicitly scriptural beginning prepares the reader for the less explicit allusions and quotations that will follow.[137]

### *§2.7.1 Words*

Mark appears to use word choice to connect characters and events in the Gospel to the Jewish scriptures. Often these word choices correspond to the wording of the Septuagint. For example, when Jesus is baptised prior to a forty day temptation in the wilderness the heavens

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[133] Donald Juel, 'Interpreting Israel's Scriptures in the New Testament', in *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson, vol. 1: The Ancient Period (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 285.

[134] This list is adapted from the lists given by Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1981), 95–96; and Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 200–201.

[135] Rainer Kampling, *Israel unter dem Anspruch des Messias: Studien zur Israelthematik im Markusevangelium*, SBB 25 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992), 25.

[136] 'The hearer is initiated into the authorial narrative-perspective.' Klaus Scholtissek, 'Der Sohn Gottes für das Reich Gottes', in *Der Evangelist als Theologe: Studien zum Markusevangelium*, ed. Thomas Söding, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 163 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995), 72.

[137] Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten', 83; Bas M. F. Van Iersel, *Mark: A Reader Response Commentary*, trans. W. H. Bisscheroux, JSNTSup 164 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 58.

are "torn apart", σχίζω (Mark 1:10). The choice of σχίζω is awkward.[138] In their account of the baptism both Matthew and Luke choose a more common alternative with its own scriptural resonances, ἀνοίγω (Matt 3:16; Luke 3:21; cf. Isaiah 63:19).[139] Mark 15:38 uses σχίζω in a more conventional fashion for the tearing of the Temple curtain (cf. Isa 36:22; 37:1; 48:21; Luke 5:36; John 19:24). It is possible that Mark sought to connect 1:10 and 15:38 as dramatic instances of divine condescension.[140] Given the likelihood that Jesus corresponds to Israel in passing through the waters before entering the wilderness for forty days/years,[141] the use of σχίζω in Exod 14:21 to describe the parting of the waters seems significant. It is the only use in Exodus and one of only 11 in the LXX.[142] Beate Kowalski argues that hapax legomena are often powerful indicators of allusion.[143] However, a word can be distinctive even if it is not rare if it is used in an unusual or awkward manner. By choosing a distinctive word to describe the heavens opening in Mark 1:10, the Gospel is able to connect Jesus' baptism with the people of Israel passing through the Red Sea.

Far from being unusual, such word use is characteristic of both ancient Jewish and Christian texts through the use of *Leitworter* within and between texts which could be recognised by an informed reader.[144]

There are two methods of locating such correspondences. The first is close reading of the Gospel text alongside other texts to which it might correspond. As the texts are read together corresponding vocabulary will become apparent. The second is to observe an awkward or rare word in the Gospel text and then examine all instances of that lemma in the LXX.

[138] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 32; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 159.

[139] This word choice also assimilates to Isa 64:1 (LXX 63:19).

[140] Boring, *Mark*, 432.

[141] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 85; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 17.

[142] Gen 22:3; Exod 14:21; 1 Sam. 6:14; 1 Mac 6:45; Eccl 10:9; Wis 5:11; Zech 14:4; Isa 36:22; 37:1; 48:21; Sus 1:55.

[143] Kowalski, 'Selective versus Contextual Allusions', 102.

[144] Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, 92–95.

### *§2.7.2 Motifs*

A motif is a "concrete image, sensory quality, action, or object".[145] In Mark 1:10 the descent of the Spirit "like a dove" corresponds to another significant moment in biblical salvation history, where a dove brings Noah an olive leaf (Gen 8:11).[146] The Creation, Flood, Exodus and crossing of the Jordan may all already be evoked by the waters of baptism. Noah's Ark was considered to prefigure Christian baptism in the early church (1 Pet 3:20-21). Mark may be drawing on this belief or be the source of it. However, unlike the use of the word σχίζω, which is a lexical fact, the presence of a corresponding motif is more subjective, and requires a judgement by the reader. Focant, for example considers the Noah-Dove connection "artificial" and argues instead for a "quasi-certain allusion" to Gen 1:2.[147] This seems more tenuous as there is no dove in Gen 1:2 and no hovering in Mark 1:10. Yet there is no reason in principle why both cannot be simultaneously evoked. For Pesch, apart from the dove representing God's spirit, "eine darüber hinausgehende symbolische Deutungt kann ihr nicht zugesprochen werden, denn dafür liefert der Text keinerlei Anhaltspunkt."[148] But, while there are no lexical correspondences which would make a specific allusion more apparent, the ambiguity does not prevent the text evoking; it only broadens its allusive scope.

Also, the purpose of the suggested allusion is less clear than with σχίζω in Mark 1:10. Does this motif present Jesus as Noah (a prophet) or as the Ark (a means of salvation), or both? That said, the presence of many correspondences to both Exodus and Genesis in the opening section of Mark's Gospel (1:1-13) increases the probability that this motif alludes to Gen 8:11. It may be that it is enough for Mark to relate Jesus to these events without specifying further how he is related to them or that Mark expects the reader to interpret the symbolism based on a shared exegetical tradition no longer available to us.

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[145] Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, 95.

[146] Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.52. For a full exploration of this idea in the context of early Judaism see Paul Garnet, 'The Baptism of Jesus and the Son of Man Idea', *JSNT* 9 (1980): 49–65.

[147] He references 4Q521 1:5-6 (which uses רחף from Gen 1:2 for God placing his spirit on the poor) and *b. Hag*. 15a (which compares the flight of Gen 1:2 to the flight of a dove over its offspring) in support. See Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 46–47; see also Garland, *Mark*, 49; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 160.

[148] 'It can not be given any further symbolic interpretation, for the text does not provide any clue.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.92.

The motif takes the exegete away from the literal, propositional meaning of the words and into the images, scenes and emotions evoked by the text. It requires the use of the imagination and a sense of poetry.

### *§2.7.3 Characterisation*

Typological characterisation is the combination of motifs and words which portray a correspondence between two characters. In Mark 1:6 John the Baptist is described in the following way:

| | |
|---|---|
| καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου | Now John was clothed with camel's hair, with a |
| καὶ **ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ** | leather belt around his waist, and he ate locusts |
| καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον | and wild honey. |

Compare this with the description of Elijah in 2 Kgs 1:8

| | |
|---|---|
| καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν ἀνὴρ δασὺς καὶ **ζώνην δερματίνην περιεζωσμένος τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ** | They answered him, "A hairy man, with a leather belt around his waist." |

Mark's description of John "with a leather belt around his waist" is almost word for word the same as Elijah in 2 Kgs 8:1.[149] He merely shortens περιεζωσμένος to περί. Given the clear correspondence of word and motif, it is also reasonable to see John's camel hair clothing as corresponding to Elijah's hairiness.[150] Like Elijah, John's ministry is mainly in the wilderness and he relies on found food rather than agriculture. Mark has also just quoted Mal 3:1 (Mark 1:2) which concludes the book of Malachi with the promise of sending Elijah (Mal 4:5-6).[151] Later John will again be characterised as Elijah in his contending with royalty, and a Jezebel-

[149] Boring, *Mark*, 41; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 156.

[150] 'The text might just as well say: John was like Elijah.' So Allison, *The New Moses*, 19. 'It is probable that this description was meant to recall the appearance of Elijah.' So Evans, 'The Baptism of John in a Typological Context', 48.

[151] Boring, *Mark*, 41. For Gnilka (*Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.47) the description of John is not proof enough of an allusion but, 'Erst im Licht des Mischzitates in 2 könnte man die Vermutung haben, daß der Ledergurt auf Elija anspielt. / Only in the light of the mixed quote in [verse] 2 could one conjecture that the leather belt alludes to Elijah.'

like queen will have him killed (Mark 6:14-29). Later still, Jesus explicitly identifies John as the prophet Elijah who was to come first (9:11-13).

In this instance, we have a later explicit identification of the character correspondence suggested by the earlier characterisation. However, often no such explicit identification is made. Instead the correspondences are left for the reader to interpret. Consequently there is always an element of uncertainty in interpreting what is implicit. Notwithstanding, this example demonstrates the kinds of connections Mark requires its readers to make.

Characterisation is usually achieved by a combination of motifs and word choices, although sometimes a single word or motif may be sufficient. Thus the methods for discerning typological motifs and words apply *mutatis mutandis* to characterisation, in which attention is given to how the motifs and words combine around an individual to present them in correspondence with a scriptural character.

### *§2.7.4 Thematic Parallel*

According to Robert Alter, a theme is an "idea which is part of the value system of the narrative—it may be moral, moral psychological, legal, political, historiosophical, theological . . ."[152]

In Mark 1:13 Jesus was "with the wild beasts" during his wilderness temptation. For Boring "Jesus' presence with the animals may represent the Messiah as restoring the original creation's paradisiacal peace with nature."[153] Boring sees in this passage the theme of human harmony with nature that corresponds to the Edenic condition of Adam (Gen 2:18-20).[154] This theme is not explicit in the words of either text. It is expressed in the motif of "man with animals" but, importantly, is not contained in the motif but is a particular (and in principle contestable) interpretation of that motif. However, the judgement regarding theme must be made, as thematic correspondence is usually the key to the meaning of the correspondence.

[152] Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, 95.

[153] Boring, *Mark*, 48.

[154] See also Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 50; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 39; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 157.

Conversely, thematic incongruity can vitiate correspondences as allusions. When Samson is in possession of 300 foxes (Judges 15:4) or Jacob is accumulating flocks, slaves, camels and donkeys (Gen 30:31-43), why should these not also be examples of the "man with animals" motif? They seem absurd suggestions because thematically, that is at the level of idea and value, the texts are communicating completely different things. There is no indication that Jesus is with the animals as part of a revenge plot like Samson or that he is using them to enrich himself like Jacob. A thematic correspondence must contain a plausible coherence in ideas and values between the texts.

If Jesus "with the animals" does not correspond to Adam in Eden then perhaps it could correspond to Daniel in the lions' den (Dan 6).[155] Just as Daniel is tested, then put with wild animals but not harmed, so Jesus survives the testing of Satan and the wild animals do not harm him. If the theme is harmony with nature, Mark 1:13 corresponds with Gen 2:18-20, whereas if the theme is safety among dangerous animals then the theme corresponds to Dan 6:22.[156] Pertinently, a ministering angel protects Daniel in Dan 6:22. Could this be the purpose of the angels in Mark 1:13? However, for Guelich the angels of Mark 1:13 correspond to the "angel's sustenance of Adam and Eve in the Garden" in *Life of Adam and Eve* 4:2 (*Vita*), reinforcing the Adam typology.[157]

Because this is an apparently isolated theme, without further reinforcement in the Gospel, we may not be able to come to a firm conclusion. It all depends on whether we see the animals as dangerous or supportive. However, what it illustrates is that some correspondences are thematically plausible allusions and some are not. Samson's revenge mission against the Philistines and Jacob's creative breeding practices simply do not connect thematically with

[155] "Jesus is tested in the wilderness beyond Jordan like old Israel, tested by Satan like Job, tested among wild beasts and ministering angels like Daniel." John Drury, 'Mark', in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 402-17, at 409.

[156] 'Wild animals are part of the imagery of dangerous places like the wilderness (Is. 13:21-22; 34:13-14 . . . Ezek 34:5, 25), and of Israel's wilderness experiences (Nu. 21:6; Dt. 8:15), and protection from them is one of the blessings promised to God's people (Ps. 91:11-13) . . . Biblical usage suggests, therefore, that θηρία are to be understood, where there is no indication to the contrary, as hostile and dangerous to humans, who need protection from them.' So France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 86; see also Garland, *Mark*, 50–51.

[157] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 39.

Jesus in Mark 1:13, while Adam's Edenic state and Daniel's perseverance through trial can and are thus more plausible.

It is thematic correspondence that gives meaning to a typology. The divine deliverance at the Red Sea crossing gives meaning to Jesus' baptism. The new beginning signified by the Flood receding gives meaning to the descending dove. The eschatological significance of Elijah's ministry and legend (e.g. Mal 4:5) gives meaning to the ministry of John the Baptist. A competent author would hardly employ a typology that contradicts their own theme. We would not expect Mark to correspond Jesus typologically to Ahab, or Herod to Moses. Such a comparison would not serve Mark's clear agenda in his presentation of Jesus.

### *§2.7.5 Thematic Inversion*

One of the interpretive moves typology allows is the reversal, inversion, or contrast, of a theme.[158] Often, when this occurs the typology is particularly significant. Although this may occur in Mark, a clear NT example is Paul's use of an Adam-Christ typology in 1 Corinthians and Romans. The correspondence in Paul's mind is easy to follow. Both Adam and Christ are individuals, εἷς ἄνθρωπος (Rom 5:19), whose actions have universal consequence for humanity.

> For since death came through a human being, the resurrection of the dead has also come through a human being; for as all die in Adam, so all will be made alive in Christ. (1 Cor 15:21-22)
>
> Thus it is written, "The first man, Adam, became a living being"; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit. But it is not the spiritual that is first, but the physical, and then the spiritual. The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven. As was the man of dust, so are those who are of the dust; and as is the man of heaven, so are those who are of heaven. Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we will also bear the image of the man of heaven. (1 Cor 15:45-49)
>
> Therefore just as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all, so one man's act of righteousness leads to justification and life for all. For just as by the one man's

[158] Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 192–96.

> disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the one man's obedience the many will be made righteous. (Rom. 5:18-19)

Adam and Christ correspond at the level of individuals whose acts affect all humanity.[159] This is a unique correspondence. We do not expect my obedience, or your acts, or even the acts of a David or a Jonah to have such universal consequences. Yet, the full significance of this correspondence, for Paul, lies in the thematic inversion within that correspondence. Where Adam was disobedient, Christ was obedient. Where Adam brought sin, condemnation and death, Christ brings righteousness, justification and resurrection life. Whereas humanity in the image of Adam is earthly, humanity in the image of Christ will be spiritual and heavenly. Christ is not simply a better version of Adam. Christ does not just restore what Adam damaged. Christ inverts and exceeds the effect of Adam's sin.[160]

Paul's Adam-Christ typology demonstrates that while typology could be used to indicate correspondences between characters and events, once those correspondences were established it could also indicate contrast. In Paul's Adam-Christ typology Jesus is both like Adam and greater than Adam. He is not a simple repeat of Adam but ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ (1 Cor 15:45). The contrast becomes the main point of the typology.

### *§2.7.6 Narrative Structure*

The comparison of words, motifs, themes and characters, all serve the purpose of allowing us to identify possible correspondences between Markan miracle narratives and scriptural miracle narratives. Narrative episodes can also be found to correspond, with or without other kinds of correspondence being used. Correspondences between narratives can be created by similar order of events, structural similarity, similar juxtaposition of characters, corresponding locations and evocative imagery and language.

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[159] While there is some debate over whether Paul intended a universal understanding of Christ's work here, the consensus view is that 'all' refers only to believers as a new humanity. See e.g. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 831; Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2007), 385; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 570.

[160] Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 830–32, 872–78; Joseph Fitzmyer, *Romans*, AB 33 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1993), 421–22.

As already noted, after Jesus' baptism he is driven to the wilderness for forty days. There is thus a corresponding order of events, imagery, and word choice between Jesus in Mark 1:9-13 and Israel in the Exodus.[161] Jesus is baptised in the Jordan and a heavenly voice says "my beloved son" (ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, Mark 1:11). This corresponds to Israel's passage through the Red Sea and the Jordan (Exod 14; Josh 3) and the Lord calling Israel "my firstborn son" (υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου, Exod 4:22). Jesus is tested (πειράζω, Mark 1:13) in the wilderness for 40 days. This corresponds to the way in which Israel was tested (ἐκπειράζω, Deut 8:1-5) in the wilderness for 40 years. In this correspondence a smaller, simpler narrative evokes a larger, more complex narrative. There is no formal structural correspondence.

In Mark 1:16-20 the order of events in the calling of Simon and the other disciples corresponds to the calling of Elisha in 1 Kgs 19:19-21: Elijah/Jesus appears; Elisha/the disciples are at work; there is a call to follow; Elisha follows Elijah/the disciples follow Jesus.[162] The influence of Elisha's call can also be observed in Luke 9:57-62. There Elisha's request to farewell his parents and Elijah's compassion both correspond and contrast with the Lukan dialogue. In this instance the corresponding narratives are of similar length.

In Mark's account of John the Baptist's death, Herod and Herodias are typologically cast as Ahab and Jezebel, creating a similar juxtaposition of characters.[163] Herodias is an evil queen, who leads Herod further astray (Mark 6:17). She corresponds to Jezebel, an evil queen who leads Ahab further astray (1 Kgs 16:31). Herodias has John the Baptist, a prophet in the mould of Elijah, murdered (Mark 6:24). This corresponds to the way Jezebel murdered prophets (1 Kgs 18:4) and sought to murder Elijah (1 Kgs 19:2). John the Baptist has already been typologically cast as Elijah (e.g. Mark 1:2, 6) and his Markan character continues to show assimilation to the pattern of Elijah.[164]

Where correspondences between narratives are suggested by words, motifs, characters or themes those narratives will be analysed with reference to order, structure, character juxtaposition, location, imagery and language.

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[161] France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 51; see also Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 66.

[162] Allison, *The New Moses*, 20; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 179–83; Boring, *Mark*, 60–61.

[163] Collins, *Mark*, 319; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 255–57.

[164] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 69; France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 50; Boring, *Mark*, 41.

### *§2.7.7 Criteria for Determining Typological Intention*

The typologies this study will examine are contestable because they are implicit.[165] However, some criteria may be applied to evaluate my conjectures as more or less probable.[166] The most commonly employed criteria for NT intertextual studies are those of Richard Hays and Dennis MacDonald. The following criteria are a consolidation and adaption of both for this specific project, augmented with further suggestions from the literature, especially from the work of Dale Allison, Francis Young, and Michael Goulder.

*Availability:* Mark cannot be expected to reference a work which was not yet written,[167] although later works may contain evidence of earlier traditions which may have been available to Mark.[168] These need to be argued for on a case-by-case basis.

*Authority:* It is assumed that Mark is more likely to employ works which were significant and considered authoritative within the early Christian context in which the Gospel was written.[169] For example, MacDonald's thesis that Mark employed Homer is hindered by the fact that Homer did not become a significant resource for Christian writing until well into the

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[165] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 2; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 29.

[166] David Allen, 'The Use of Criteria: The State of the Question', in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 134.

[167] Allison, *The New Moses*, 21; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 29–30; Dennis R. MacDonald, 'Introduction', in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. MacDonald, Dennis R. (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 2; Thomas L. Brodie, 'Towards Tracing the Gospels' Literary Indebtedness to the Epistles', in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. MacDonald, Dennis R. (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 105–9; see also similar discussions in MacDonald, Dennis R., *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, 8–9; Vincent Skemp, 'Avenues of Intertextuality between Tobit and the New Testament', in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit*, ed. Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp, CBQM 38 (Washington, DC.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 44–47.

[168] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 63; see also the cautionary remarks in Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 11.

[169] Allison, *The New Moses*, 21–22; see also Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria*, 2–3.

third century.[170] Rikk Watts observes that in the NT, "remarkable is the complete absence of Hellenistic greats such as Plato and Aristotle."[171] Whether or not NT authors were aware of Greek literature, it clearly holds no authority for them. Watts also comments on the infrequency of reference or appeal to intertestamental Jewish literatures which is "nowhere near the authority of scripture."[172] But this raises the question of what counted as scripture and what does not?

We do not know which texts among the many that we now consider apocryphal or pseudepigraphical might have been considered as authoritative scripture by Mark and the first-century Christian community. Equally, some of those that are now considered canonical may not have been highly regarded or even known to Mark. The Torah (Pentateuch), Samuel and Kings (LXX Kingdoms), the Major and Minor Prophets, and the Psalms account for all of Mark's explicit scripture citations and so presumably represent the core of Mark's authoritative scripture.[173] This list is closely reflected in the use of scripture in Q uncovered in Allison's important study.[174] And at Qumran we find a comparable "canon within the canon" of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets and the Psalms.[175] The suggestion seems to be strong then that these were the core books of the early Christian scriptural canon and not just for Mark. However, there is no necessary reason why Mark should not allude to other texts outside this narrow group.[176]

Likewise, we do not know for certain what forms of the scriptural text were available to the author of Mark. Most quotations of scripture in Mark, and in the NT in general, match the

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[170] As MacDonald (*The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, 4) himself notes.

[171] Watts, 'Rethinking Context in the Relationship of Israel's Scriptures to the NT', 164.

[172] Watts, 'Rethinking Context in the Relationship of Israel's Scriptures to the NT', 159.

[173] See the survey in Craig A. Evans, 'Why Did the New Testament Writers Appeal to the Old Testament?', *JSNT* 38 (2015): 38–46.

[174] Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 25–175.

[175] George J. Brooke, '"The Canon within the Canon" at Qumran and in the New Testament', in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 242–66; Brooke, 'New Perspectives on the Bible and Its Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 33; see also Evans, 'Why Did the New Testament Writers Appeal to the Old Testament?', 37–38.

[176] O'Brien, *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative*, 20–21.

LXX[177] (e.g. Mark 12:10-11; Ps 118:22-23 [LXX 117]) or appear to have modified the LXX (e.g. Mark 15:24; Ps 22:18 [LXX 21:19]).[178] However, sometimes Mark's quotations of scripture appear to rely not on any known variant of the LXX but rather a "smoother, less literal Greek translation" of the Hebrew (e.g. Mark 1:2; 4:32; 11:9).[179] These could be independent translations by Mark from Hebrew or Aramaic or a no longer extant Greek version. What this means is that all variants of the LXX as well as possible translations of the Hebrew Bible should be considered in the search for correspondences. Neither the Greek nor the Hebrew versions of the Jewish scriptures were absolutely fixed in the first century CE and this must be remembered when evaluating possible correspondences.[180]

*Prominence:* In typology, "Obscurity does not commend itself."[181] A reader is less likely to be able to recognise an implicit allusion to a figure or theme that is not already prominent in the texts and traditions with which they are familiar.[182] For example, there is no explicit

[177] Following conventional usage the term LXX designates 'more generally that group of Greek Jewish Scriptures as they are commonly known' and not 'the oldest recoverable form of the Greek text of a particular book,' McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research*, 7; see also James K. Aitken, 'Introduction', in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 2.

[178] O'Brien, *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative*, 36–37; Juel, 'Interpreting Israel's Scriptures in the New Testament', 283–84; see also the discussion of Mark's scripture use in Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, NovTSup 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 5; with regard to the NT in general see particularly Siegfried Kreuzer, 'New Testament Quotations and the Textual History of the Septuagint', in *Rewriting and Reception in and of the Bible*, ed. Jesper Høgenhaven, Jesper Tang Nielsen, and Heike Omerzu, WUNT 396 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 65–84.

[179] O'Brien, *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative*, 38–40, 209–14; see also Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 16.

[180] Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 79–98; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 12–13; Law, *When God Spoke Greek*, 32; Aitken, 'Introduction', 5–6.

[181] Allison, *The New Moses*, 22.

[182] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 63.

reference to Esther in Mark, and it does not appear to have been a significant book in the NT at all. Therefore it is unlikely that Esther will be found in an implicit typology.[183]

However, sometimes prominence is far from clear. For example, was the story of Obadiah in 1 Kgs 18:1-6 obscure because he is a minor character or prominent because it was part of the Elijah narrative? Such questions must be argued on a case-by-case basis. If the same character, theme or narrative has been used elsewhere in the NT, early Christian literature, or Pseudepigrapha, its prominence is increased in proportion to its use.[184] For example, when Mark explicitly connects Jesus with Moses, Elijah, and David (e.g. Mark 2:25; 9:4) an implicit typology making the same connections elsewhere in the Gospel is more likely to be recognised.

*Strength and Number of Correspondences:* Discerning an implicit typology is a matter of observing correspondences and compiling them: "all typology is *cumulative*."[185] Nevertheless, not all correspondences are of equal weight. The more distinctive a correspondence is, the less likely it is to be an accident, and the greater the probability it reveals the influence of an earlier work.[186] Additionally, combinations of more than one kind of correspondence are more compelling. For example, a type where a word, a motif and a theme all correspond is more compelling than simply three corresponding words without any other links.[187] In other words, what is being looked for are "similarities beyond the normal range of coincidence."[188] Finally, the clear use of a scripture in one part of the Gospel increases the likelihood of it also being present in more tentative instances in the same Gospel.[189]

*Order of Correspondences in both Text and Referent-text:* Goulder argues that, "When [correspondences] are placed in a catena following a definite order, accident is out of the

[183] This is not meant to suggest that it is impossible, only that it becomes increasingly hard to argue for an implicit typology the more obscure it is.

[184] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 30; MacDonald, 'Introduction', 2.

[185] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 2.

[186] Sandmel, 'Parallelomania', 5; Allison, *The New Moses*, 23; Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 11; MacDonald, 'Introduction', 2.

[187] Allison, *The New Moses*, 22.

[188] Brodie, 'Towards Tracing the Gospels' Literary Indebtedness to the Epistles', 109.

[189] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 63–64; Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus*, 12.

question."[190] For the sceptic, accident is never completely out of the question. But in assessing probability, a corresponding order of verbal, motivic, or thematic correspondences allows those correspondences to be given greater weight.[191] For example, the words of Mark 6:41 evoke the Last Supper in 14:22, not only because they use the same four verbs (λαμβάνω, εὐλογέω, κατακλάω, δίδωμι), but because they occur in the same order.

*Distribution of Correspondences in both Text and Referent-text:* An allusion that requires correspondences to come from scattered places in a large text is less compelling than a tightly grouped set of correspondences from a smaller text or self-contained textual unit. The larger the referent text unit and the more diffuse the correspondences within it, the greater the probability that any correspondence is coincidental.[192]

*Inexplicability of Correspondences without Positing Influence of an Earlier Text or Tradition:* This criterion is an extension of the recognition that some correspondences have greater weight. There are numerous irregularities in Mark's text which are often smoothed over in translation and either ignored or treated as evidence of Mark's poor Greek. Examples, which will be treated in more detail later, include πνίγω for "drown" in Mark 5:13 and πρασιά for "groups" in 6:40. The question is seldom asked, why would someone with a limited grasp of Greek choose rare or unusual words to describe simple things in their narrative? If such awkwardness appears to contribute to a typological reference (usually lexically linking to the LXX), a plausible explanation for the unconventional language becomes the author's desire to allude to scripture.

*Motive Clear and Consistent with Authorial Agenda:* This is similar to MacDonald's criterion of "interpretablity"[193] and what Hays calls "thematic coherence."[194] It is not enough just to notice a possible typology but a cogent argument for its use must be given.[195] Steve Smith states this in the strongest terms, "without interpretive benefit a text cannot be an intertext."[196] Smith may overstate the case. It is conceivable that a scriptural text could be

[190] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 6; see also MacDonald, 'Introduction', 2.

[191] Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus,* 11.

[192] Kristian Larsson, 'Intertextual Density, Quantifying Imitation', *JBL* 133 (2014): 309–32.

[193] MacDonald, 'Introduction', 3.

[194] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul,* 30.

[195] Goulder, *Type and History in Acts*, 7–9; Sandmel, 'Parallelomania', 5.

[196] Smith, 'The Use of Criteria', 149.

employed purely for compositional purposes, as a literary model without any interpretive benefit. Yet, given the prevalence and power of typological analogies in early Judaism, it seem unlikely that an author would employ a literary typology that was not consistent with the convictions and purposes evident elsewhere in their text.

*A Consistent Pattern of Typological Allusion:* One feature I hope to be able to show is a consistent pattern of typological allusion across the four miracles. The more times the same approach appears to have been used by Mark the less plausible it is that this appearance can be put down to a coincidence.

*Inadequate Reasons to Dismiss a Typology:* In response to some recurring objections to typology Young states, "typology, like metaphor and simile, is not meant to be taken literally, as if every point of comparison were valid."[197] Likewise, for Allison, biblical typology infers "no cloning of events."[198] Just as all analogies break down at some point, a typology is not vitiated if text and referent-text do not correspond at all significant points.[199] Equally, there is no necessary limit to the subtlety with which a typology may be employed.[200] In the first century, "literary subtlety directed at keen and informed imaginations was . . . nothing out of the ordinary."[201] Consequently, typology must be judged, not by its subtlety from the point of view of a modern reader, but on the basis of the foregoing criteria.

*Satisfaction:* The final arbiter for any typology is the "satisfaction" of the reader.[202] Does a typology make sense, enrich our understanding, or elucidate the the author's intent? As Allison writes, "Only a delicate and mature judgement bred of familiarity with tradition will

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[197] Frances Young, 'Ministerial Forms and Functions in the Church Communities of the Greek Fathers', in *Community Formation in the Early Church and in the Church Today*, ed. Richard Longenecker (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 157-76, at 175.

[198] Allison, *The New Moses*, 15, 94.

[199] Brodie, 'Towards Tracing the Gospels' Literary Indebtedness to the Epistles', 110.

[200] 'Esoteric allusion is common in this corpus,' so Daube, 'Typology in Josephus', 24.

[201] Allison, *The New Moses*, 133; see also Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 23; Moyise, 'Intertextuality and the Study of the OT in the NT', 18–19, "A particular allusion or echo can sometimes be more important than its 'volume' might suggest. . . Sometimes, subtle allusions or echoes, especially if they are frequent and pervasive, can be more influential than explicit quotations".

[202] Hays, Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul, 31–32; Huizenga, The New Isaac, 65.

be able to feel whether a suggested allusion or typology is solid or insubstantial."[203] While I will attempt to marshal every argument at my disposal to make my case, ultimately,

> Interpretations of texts—for that matter, interpretations of people and their actions—do not admit of rigorous argument. We can definitively rule some interpretations out, but it is hard to make a compelling argument that only this interpretation is right. Even a carefully supported interpretation of narratives is, in effect, only a recommendation to look at a text in a certain way . . . Interpretations present, suggest, offer, and invite . . . they cannot attempt to command.[204]

Just like the parables of Jesus, the Gospel of Mark will not be understood by everyone, but is only written for those "with ears to hear" (Mark 4:9).

## §2.8 Conclusion

I have attempted to demonstrate the plausibility of a literary typology being employed by a first-century Jewish-Christian author. Most significant for this thesis is the evidence of Josephus, that individuals and groups could appropriate scriptural narratives as models for their own behaviour. Moreover, in Jewish scripture, other Jewish writings, and the letters of Paul, there are examples of literary typology being utilised to serve rhetorical purposes and theological convictions. Now I will attempt to show that a related approach to typology is evident in several of Mark's miracles.

[203] Allison, *The New Moses*, 21.

[204] Eleonore Stump, 'The Problem of Evil: Analytic Philosophy and Narrative', in *Analytic Theology: New Essays in the Philosphy of Theology*, ed. Oliver D. Crisp and Michael C. Rea (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 261.

## *§3* Jonah Typology in Mark 4:35-41

*Do you see how the whisper of the groves ceased at the voice of the emperor?. . . I said: Here is a god; a god subdued the wind.*[1]

Mark 4:35-41

35 Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀψίας γενομένης· διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν. 36 καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ἄλλα πλοῖα ἦν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. 37 καὶ γίνεται λαῖλαψ μεγάλη ἀνέμου καὶ τὰ κύματα ἐπέβαλλεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ὥστε ἤδη γεμίζεσθαι τὸ πλοῖον. 38 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδων. καὶ ἐγείρουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· διδάσκαλε, οὐ μέλει σοι ὅτι ἀπολλύμεθα; 39 καὶ διεγερθεὶς ἐπετίμησεν τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· σιώπα, πεφίμωσο. καὶ ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἐγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη. 40 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί δειλοί ἐστε; οὔπω ἔχετε πίστιν;[2] 41 καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους· τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούει αὐτῷ;

(Author's Trans.)

35 He says to them, on that same day, when evening had come, "Let us cross over to the other side" 36 And, having left the crowd they take him as he was in the boat, and other boats were with him. 37 And a great gale of wind comes and waves were breaking into the boat, so that the boat was already being filled. 38 But he was in the stern sleeping on a pillow. And they rouse him and say to him "Teacher, don't you care that we are perishing?" 39 And being woken he was rebuking the wind, and said to the sea, "Peace, be still!" And the wind ceased and great calm came. 40 But he said to them, "Why are you so fearful? Do you not yet have faith?" 41 So they were afraid with a great fear, and were saying to each another, "Who, then, can this be, that even the wind and the waves obey him?"

### §3.1 More than a "Simple Miracle Story"

The ability to command wind and waves was a reported power of both pagan rulers and Jewish rabbis, among others.[3] Yet Mark 4:35-41 is far from a "simple miracle story."[4]

First, Mark's rustic writing style conceals a finely crafted narrative where variation in tenses helps mark the stages of the story. Initially the historic present is used for the key verbs, but

[1] Calpurnius, *Bucolica* 4.97-100, cited in Lars Hartman, *Mark for the Nations: A Text- and Reader-Oriented Commentary* (Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock, 2010), 196.

[2] The variant reading πῶς οὐκ ἔχετε πίστιν, found in A C K 33. 1241. 1424., makes no significant difference to the sense of the rebuke. Either way, the rhetorical question implies the disciples' evident lack of faith requires some explanation. As Gundry (*Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993], 247) shows, the argument that one is softer than the other can be made both ways.

[3] Boring, *Mark*, 143; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 196; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 333. Several examples will be given and discussed in the following section.

[4] *Pace* Gunther Bornkamm, *Wort und Dienst*, 1948, 49-54 (cited in France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 221)

when the story reaches its climax the aorist is used indicating "Jesus' decisive action."[5] The final key verb of the episode is imperfect, leaving Jesus' identity a continuing question for the disciples.

Secondly, the performance of the miracle takes second place to the dialogue between Jesus and his disciples.[6] The focus is the identity of Jesus, rather than the supernatural event.[7] The Christological question of 4:41, "Who can this be, that even the wind and the waves obey him?" is not rhetorical for the disciples; they are genuinely bewildered by what they have witnessed.[8] It has a second function in the text, however. It also addresses the reader,[9] challenging them to allow this event to confront their preconceived categories and "prepares the way for an answer which goes beyond a functional view of Jesus as the Messiah."[10] As Dechow writes, "V.41 kann also nur gegen seinen Sinn im Kontext der Seesturmstillung als Auftakt eines Abschnitts angesehen werden, der als sein wesentliches Thema die christologische Frage behandelt."[11]

Thirdly, as I will argue, this miracle account alludes to scriptural texts with the intent that these texts influence and direct interpretation of the episode's meaning.

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[5] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 222.

[6] Boring, *Mark*, 144; Robert H. Stein, *Mark*, BECNT (Grand Rapids  Mich.: Baker, 2008), 239; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.194.

[7] Boring, *Mark*, 147; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 220; Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen für die Christologie des Markusevangeliums*, BZNW 42 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 93; Paul J Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed: Jesus and the Storm-Tossed Sea', *Interpretation* 16 (1962): 169–76, 170.

[8] This question and confusion over Jesus' identity forms an inclusio around the following sequence of miracles with Mk 6:3, see Collins, *Mark*, 258; Kent Brower, '"Who Then Is This?" - Christological Questions in Mark 4:35-5:43', *EvQ* 81 (2009): 291–305, 305; Jens Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes: Der Theozentrismus des Markusevangeliums*, WMANT 86 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 197.

[9] William F McInerny, 'An Unresolved Question in the Gospel Called Mark: "Who Is This Whom Even Wind and Sea Obey?" (4:41)', *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 23 (1996): 258.

[10] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 225.

[11] 'V.41 can only be, contrary to its meaning in the context of the storm stilling, regarded as a prelude to a section that handles the Christological question as its essential theme.' Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 210, also 239.

Finally, Mark 4:35-41 is one of two miracles that occur on the Sea of Galilee in Mark's Gospel, the other being the walking on the water in Mark 6:45-52. The way one sea miracle is understood might be expected to have significance for the interpretation of the other, and this will be discussed in due course.

## §3.2 Exploring the Conventions: Miraculous Sea Rescues in Antiquity

The storm stilling can be considered a nature miracle (Bultmann) or a rescue miracle (Theissen).[12] It seems unnecessary to choose between the two as elements of both are at work in the Markan narrative episode.[13] Dibelius' category of "tale" encompasses both as "an epiphany of the divine on earth."[14] Yet Heil's narrower category of "sea rescue epiphany" is more useful in creating a workable category for comparison.[15] However, Cotter rightly warns that with such anachronistic "conscious classification" we must not project "our categories and their criteria backwards."[16]

The ability to calm sea storms was attributed in Hellenism to both gods and human heroes.[17] Among the gods were Poseidon/Neptune,[18] Aphrodite/Venus,[19] the Dioscuri,[20] the Samthrace

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[12] Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 215–16; Gerd Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, trans. John Kenneth Riches (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983), 99–100; cf. Collins, *Mark*, 258.

[13] However, see the caution of Meier (*A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, ABRL [New York, NY: Doubleday, 1991], 874), who writes, 'So variegated are the form, language, and content of these stories that one may rightly question whether, within the Four Gospels, "nature miracles" constitute a single intelligible category like exorcisms, healings, or raising the dead. The idea of a nature miracle is anything but clear and distinct.'

[14] Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 94.

[15] John P. Heil, *Jesus Walking on the Sea: Meaning and Gospel Functions of Matt 14:22-33, Mark 6:45-52 and John 6:15b-21* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1981), 30.

[16] Wendy J. Cotter, *The Christ of the Miracle Stories: Portrait Though Encounter* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2010), 1–2.

[17] The following references are taken from Wendy J. Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1999), 131–37, 142–48.

[18] Hesiod, *To Poseidon*, *Homeric Hymns*; Virgil, *Aen.* 1.133-34, 137-39, 142-43.

[19] Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 15.576a-b.

[20] Hesiod, *To the Dioscuri, Homeric Hymns*; Theocritus, *Hymn to the Dioscuri* 22.14-22.

deities,[21] Isis[22] and Serapis.[23] And among the heroes were Orpheus,[24] Pythagoras,[25] Empedocles,[26] Apollonius of Tyana,[27] Julius Caesar[28] and Augustus Caesar.[29] Stories of divine rescue at sea follow a simple structure: a sudden and severe storm, prayers to a deity, and a sudden calm often accompanied by an equally sudden safe arrival at the supplicant's destination (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 15.576a-b; Diodrus Siculus, *The Library of History* 4.43.1-2; Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.5; Aelius Aristides, *Regarding Serapis* 45.33). The only Jewish story that closely conforms to this structure is *y. Ber.* 9.[30] In relation to Mark 4:35-41 all these features are also present, if the complaint of 4:38 is interpreted as a prayer.[31] Notably, however, other elements, including Jesus' sleep and the post-miracle dialogue, are a departure from the usual simplicity of the form.[32]

Wendy Cotter also suggests the storm stories of Levi (*Test. Naph.* 6:1-10) and Rabbi Gamaliel (*b. Meṣi'a* 59b) as examples of the form.[33] They present fascinating departures from the convention which render them less useful as examples of it. Apart from the character of *Test. Naph*. 6:1-10 as part of a vision rather than realistic account, the boat is destroyed before Levi prays.[34] The Talmud's *b. Meṣi'a* 59b tells of a humorous prayer battle between two arguing rabbis. There is no actual storm, just a single rogue wave caused by the prayer of one of the rabbis.

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[21] Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History,* 4.43.1-2.

[22] Isidorus, *Hymn One, The Four Hymns of Isidorus* 1.1-2, 25-34, 39, 43, 49, 50; Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.5.

[23] Aelius Aristides, *Regarding Serapis 45.33*; Letter from a Soldier, *BGU* 2.423.

[24] Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 4.903-911; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 2.15.1.

[25] Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras* 28.

[26] Diogenes Lertius, *Empedocles, Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 8.59; Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras* 135-136.

[27] Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.13.5-13

[28] Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 46.1-4.

[29] Philo, *Embassy* 144-145.

[30] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity,* 142.

[31] As discussed below, that interpretation is not without problems.

[32] As I will argue in §3.7 below, this is something Mark 4:35-41 shares in common with the sea rescue in Jonah 1.

[33] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 140–41.

[34] See §3.5 for further discussion of this text.

Pythagoras, Empedocles and Apollonius of Tyana are all attributed with the ability to calm the sea or wind (Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras* 28, 135-36; Diogenes Laertius, *Empedocles* 8.59; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.13.5-13). However, none are recounted doing so in a narrative or as saving anyone through doing so. Julius Caesar's confidence in his own safety at sea did not result in a calming of the weather and the journey had to be abandoned (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 46.1-4). Thus Hellenistic narratives recounting the stilling of storms are limited to gods.

### §3.3 Isaiah 43 and 51:9

Both Isa 43 and 51:9 are suggested by David Garland as being background texts to Mark 4:35-41.[35] Isa 43 contains the command not to fear and a promise of protection through waters. Isa 51:9 features a call to YHWH to "awake!" Marcus and Watts have demonstrated the importance of Deutero-Isaiah for Mark so such allusions are possible here.[36]

Table: Lexical Comparison Isaiah 43:1 & 51:9; Mark 4:35-41

| | LXX | | Mark 4:35-41 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Isa 43:1 | μὴ φοβου (fear not) | 4:40 | τί δειλοί ἐστε; (why are you afraid?) |
| Isa 51:9 | ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου (Awake! Awake!) | 4:38 | ἐγείρουσιν αὐτὸν (they wake him) |
| | | 4:39 | διεγερθεὶς (he awoke) |

However, the parallels in these instances are weak. Isa 43:1 shares no lexical similarity. Isa 51:9 uses the same root, ἐγείρω, but it is found in a different construction, lacking the imperative, direct speech and repetition, and it occurs in a different narrative context. In the LXX it is not the Lord but Jerusalem that is called to awaken.[37] Garland argues for several other correspondences of thought between Isaiah 43 and Mark's Gospel (e.g. "ransom" in Isa 43:3 and Mark 10:45),[38] but in terms of the episode in Mark 35:-41 there is little to suggest an allusion to Isa 43.

[35] Garland, *Mark*, 192, 196–97.

[36] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*; Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*.

[37] Achtemeier makes a different use of Isa 51:9, using it to argue for a conceptual background to Mark 4:35-41 of YHWH's struggle against chaos/the sea/the dragon, but does not suggest it is specifically alluded to. Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed: Jesus and the Storm-Tossed Sea', 175.

[38] Garland, *Mark*, 196–97.

That said, in the immediate context of both Isa 43:1 and 51:9 there are allusions to the crossing of the Red Sea (43:2; 51:10), and Isaiah 51:9 also mentions God's defeat of Rahab, the chaos monster.[39] Thus there is considerable thematic coherence between the passages, if Mark is seen to be portraying Jesus as the God of Israel ensuring the safe passage of the disciples as (new) Israel through the chaotic waters. Garland's suggestion here is thus best considered as a meaningful, albeit weak, scriptural echo.

### §3.4 LXX Psalm 43:24 (44:23)

Kent Brower suggests an intertextual echo with LXX Ps 43:24, ἐξεγέρθητι ἵνα τί ὑπνοῖς κύριε ἀνάστηθι καὶ μὴ ἀπώσῃ εἰς τέλος, "Wake up! Why do you sleep, O Lord? Arise, and do not reject us totally!" (NETS).[40] Thematically the psalmist's complaint against a seemingly indifferent and sleepy YHWH connects well with the disciples' complaint (Mark 4:38). Lexically, while the texts have ἐγείρω in common, one might expect, were Mark intending to reference this text, to have ἀνίστημι in Mark 4:39 rather than ἐγείρω again. It also remains to be shown that this possible echo adds any interpretive value.

### §3.5 Psalm 107 (LXX 106)

Psalm 107 is thematically linked to Isaiah 40-66 as it most likely describes those returning from exile (e.g. via a sea voyage, etc).[41] So Psalm 107 may contribute to Mark's use of Isaiah's New Exodus. Robert Meye and Colin Smothers have also argued for the thematic affinity between the wider section of Mark 4:35-8:26 and Ps 107 as a whole.[42] Psalm 107

[39] On God's battle with chaos, see further §3.6 below.

[40] Brower, 'Who Then Is This?', 295; see also Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 68.

[41] John Goldingay, *Psalms: Psalms 90-150* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2008), 248; James Luther Mays, *Psalms* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 346.

[42] Robert Meye, 'Psalm 107 as "Horizon" for Interpreting the Miracle Stories of Mark 4:35-8:26', in *Unity and Diversity in New Testament Theology: Essays in Honour of George E. Ladd*, ed. Robert A. Guelich (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978), 1–13; Colin Smothers, 'Miraculous Redemption: An Allusion to Psalm 107 Found in Mark 4:35-6:44' (Unpublished research paper, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013), https://colinsmothers.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/psalm-107-and-mark-final.pdf, accessed 26/10/18.

contains stories of hungry and thirsty people who are satisfied by God (107:4-9), prisoners who are rescued from bondage (10-16), sick people who are healed by God's word (17-22) and, of course, a divine sea-rescue (23-32). Meye and Smothers relate these themes to Mark 6:30-44; 5:1-20; 5:21-43 and 4:35-41 respectively. However, the lexical similarities listed by Smothers are few and lack distinctiveness or structural congruence.[43] Also, Smothers associates the Gerasene Demoniac (Mark 5:1-20) with the rebellious prisoners of Ps 107:10-16 which is at best a tenuous correspondence.[44]

What is proven is that a similar complex of themes is present in Psalm 107 and Mark 4:35-6:44 but that they occur in a different order. Additionally, the section of Psalm 107 that celebrates agricultural renewal (107:33-38) is not represented in Mark. Meye's suggestion of a motif of compassion in Mark is well taken, but does not require an intertextual link to Psalm 107.[45] If Psalm 107 influenced the composition of Mark 4:35-6:44 it was at an early stage, perhaps in the collection together of the miracle accounts,[46] and does not appear to be significant regarding Mark's communicative strategy.

Notwithstanding, the section Ps 107:23-32 (LXX Ps 106) is perhaps the most commonly cited background text for Mark 4:35-41. A number of scholar's argue for it, not least Richard Hays in his study of intertextuality in the Gospels.[47]

[43] Smothers, 'Miraculous Redemption', 10–11.

[44] Meye, 'Psalm 107 as Horizon', 7; Smothers, 'Miraculous Redemption', 7.

[45] Meye, 'Psalm 107 as Horizon', 8.

[46] See Achtemeier, 'Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae'.

[47] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 66; See also e.g. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 221; Garland, *Mark*, 192; Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 71, 373 n91; Brower, 'Who Then Is This?', 295; Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels*, 91–92; Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.97; Eugen Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium. Erster Teil: Mk 1,1 bis 9,13*, 4th ed. (Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau: Walter-Verlag, 1989), 353; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.272-73.

| LXX Psalm 106:23-32 | (NETS) |
|---|---|
| 23 οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν πλοίοις ποιοῦντες ἐργασίαν ἐν ὕδασι πολλοῖς | 23 Those who used to go down to the sea in ships, doing business on many waters-- |
| 24 αὐτοὶ εἶδοσαν τὰ ἔργα κυρίου καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ | 24 it was they who saw the deeds of the Lord and his wondrous works in the deep. |
| 25 εἶπεν καὶ ἔστη πνεῦμα καταιγίδος καὶ ὑψώθη τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς | 25 He spoke and the tempest's blast stood, and its waves were raised on high. |
| 26 ἀναβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ καταβαίνουσιν ἕως τῶν ἀβύσσων ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἐν κακοῖς ἐτήκετο | 26 They mount up as far as the heavens, and they go down as far as the depths; their soul would melt away in calamity; |
| 27 ἐταράχθησαν ἐσαλεύθησαν ὡς ὁ μεθύων καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν κατεπόθη | 27 they were troubled; they staggered like the drunkard, and all their wisdom was gulped down. |
| 28 καὶ ἐκέκραξαν πρὸς κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι αὐτούς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς | 28 And they cried to the Lord when they were being afflicted, and out of their anguish he brought them, |
| 29 καὶ ἐπέταξεν τῇ καταιγίδι καὶ ἔστη εἰς αὔραν καὶ ἐσίγησαν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς | 29 and he ordered the tempest, and it subsided to a breeze, and its waves became silent. |
| 30 καὶ εὐφράνθησαν ὅτι ἡσύχασαν καὶ ὡδήγησεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ λιμένα θελήματος αὐτῶν | 30 And they were glad, because they had quiet, and he guided them to a haven of their want. |
| 31 ἐξομολογησάσθωσαν τῷ κυρίῳ τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων | 31 Let them acknowledge the Lord for his mercies and for his wonderful works to the sons of men. |
| 32 ὑψωσάτωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαοῦ καὶ ἐν καθέδρᾳ πρεσβυτέρων αἰνεσάτωσαν αὐτόν | 32 Let them exalt him in an assembly of people and in a session of elders praise him. |

Both Mark 4:35-41 and Psalm 107:23-32 recount a narrative where people embark on a voyage, encounter a dangerous storm and are saved when the storm is stilled. Additionally, the psalm portrays YHWH as the one whom wind and waves obey. In Ps 107:25, God speaks and the storm is raised and in 107:29 he commands (LXX: ἐπιτάσσω) or simply makes (MT: קום) the storm still and waves hush. When Mark 4:35-41 is read with Psalm 107:23-32 there is a ready answer to the disciples' question, "Who can this be, that even the wind and the waves obey him?" Hays writes, "for any reader versed in Israel's scripture, there can be only one possible answer: it is the Lord God of Israel."[48] Briefly asserting that the passage "looks very much like a midrashic narrative based on [Ps 107]", Hays then proceeds to situate the Psalm in a matrix of Jewish scriptures (Job 26 & 38; Pss 89 & 106; Isa 51) to show that calming storms is what God - and God alone - does.[49]

[48] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 66; see also Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed: Jesus and the Storm-Tossed Sea', 174; Timothy J. Geddert, 'The Use of Psalms in Mark', *Baptistic Theologies* 1 (2009): 122.

[49] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 67.

However, as neat a solution as this presents, several details warn against too direct an application of Psalm 107 to Mark 4:35-41.While the plots of the two passages cohere in several places, it is limited to generic correspondence which you would expect with any conventional sea calming story (e.g. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 15.576a-b; Diodrus Siculus, *The Library of History* 4.43.1-2; Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.5; Aelius Aristides, *Regarding Serapis* 45.33). There are also significant differences which argue against dependence.

First, for Mark, episodes set in the wilderness, mountain and sea serve to locate Jesus in the "cosmic struggle" and reference the "eschatological transformation of nature" of Isaiah 40.[50] Thus in Mark 4 the storm appears to arise independently and must be rebuked by Jesus with words reminiscent of his power encounters against demons.[51] By contrast, in Psalm 107 God both initiates the storm and stills it. There is no "cosmic struggle."

Second, a number of correspondences, that is the embarkation, peril, and cry for help, only correspond in the loosest way. Between the cry to God of Ps 107:28 and the disciples' rude complaint of Mark 4:38 the correspondence is especially thin.[52]

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[50] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 27, 34.

[51] See Mark 1:25, 3:12 & 9:25; Garland, *Mark*, 192; Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 132; Boring, *Mark*, 146; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 195; Collins, *Mark*, 261; Stein, *Mark*, 239–40; Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed: Jesus and the Storm-Tossed Sea', 176. But cf. France (*The Gospel of Mark*, 224) who thinks this small phrase is not significant. On the other hand Timothy Milinovich ('The Parable of the Storm: Instruction and Demonstration in Mark 4:1–41', *BTB* 45 [2015]: 88–96, 96) goes in a completely different direction and treats the sea as a model disciple: 'The sea, which has been present for much of Jesus' teaching, but has not seen as much as the disciples, has still achieved greater understanding of the kingdom and Jesus' authority than they have. The audience now recognizes that the sea, like the unclean spirit in 1:25–28, testifies to, and reveals, Jesus' Sonship though its obedience and, in doing so, also develops the interpretive key of "having" faith and "listening" that was paradoxically explained in the parables.'

[52] Brower, 'Who Then Is This?', 291–305, 295. However, it could be argued that Matthew, when using Mark's account, is influenced by Psalm 107 in his retelling of the story as the disciples' interaction with Jesus changes to a confident prayer and Jesus goes from 'teacher' to 'Lord'. This certainly brings the account closer to Psalm 107 but the connection is still tenuous at best. See also Collins, *Mark*, 259: 'The disciples' statement is not a confident prayer for help, as Jesus' rebuke in v. 40 indicates.'

Third, in the Markan narrative, the disciples' fear of the storm is not explicit. The only description of the disciple's fear is within Jesus' rebuke, but the fear is attributed to their lack of faith, not the storm. In the psalm the narrator recounts how the storm inspires stupefying fear (Ps 107:26-27). This fear leads the travellers to turn to God. For Mark however, the really terrifying one is Jesus.[53] The Markan narrative may imply that the disciples are afraid of the storm, but the lack of explicit mention of this is a key point at which Mark could evoke Psalm 107:23-32 and does not. Rather, comparison of the two passages highlights how Mark foregrounds Christological revelation over the miraculous deliverance.

Fourth, Psalm 107's core message of the redeemed's thankfulness is completely absent from Mark 4:35-41.[54] The psalm repeatedly moves from distressed souls to the thankful redeemed. By contrast, Mark 4:35-41 moves from apparent fear at the storm to "fearing with great fear" at Jesus (4:41).

Fifth, a unique characteristic of Psalm 107 among the psalms is its "paraenetic conclusion" (107:43) which lends it a sapiential character.[55] The psalm's narrative repeatedly shows sinners repenting and consequently being saved by the God of Israel. Thus "those who are wise" (107:43) are to pay attention and imitate the behaviour of those who are redeemed by calling on God (107:6, 13, 19, 28) with faith in his "steadfast love" (107:43). In contrast Jesus' compassion is conspicuous by its absence in Mark 4:35-41. The disciples do not repent. There is no sapiential moral of the story, only fear and confusion. The disciples are rebuked for their fear and lack of faith. They are not presented as an example to be learned from.

Finally, there is an incongruence with Psalm 107 and Mark's theme of the suffering messiah. Suffering in Psalm 107 is the result of sin (107:11, 17, 42). In Mark, it is a result of obedience.

By way of a counter-example, the "sea rescue story" in the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* shares with Ps 107:23-32 the theme of a return from exile combined with a sea rescue (*T. Naph* 6:1-10). There, the patriarch Naphtali recounts a dreamlike vision (5:1; 7:1) which is preceded by explicit references to the exile and restoration of the tribes of Israel (4:1-5; 5:8). In response to the penance and prayers of a symbolic Levi (*T. Naph.* 6:8; cf. Ps 107:28) the λαίλαψ ἀνέμου μεγάλου (*T. Naph.* 6:4; cf. Mark 4:37; Ps 107:25-27), the "great wind storm"

[53] Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 63.

[54] On this theme in Psalm 107 see Mays, *Psalms*, 345.

[55] Meye, 'Psalm 107 as Horizon', 9; see also Smothers, 'Miraculous Redemption', 21.

of exile in which the tribes are scattered to the ends of the earth (*T. Naph.* 6:7; cf. Ps 107:3), is calmed. And the tribes are reunited to each other and their father Jacob (*T. Naph.* 6:9-10; compare Ps 107:30-32). Despite the considerable differences in genre, Psalm 107 and *T. Naph.* 6:1-10 have strong narrative and thematic overlaps with each other.[56] These themes are conspicuous by their absence from Mark 4:35-41.[57]

These points make an appeal to Psalm 107 in solving the riddle of Mark 4:41 theologically problematic. Jesus is not presented in Mark 4:35-41 in the same way as the God of Israel is in Psalm 107.

There is also no significant lexical correspondence between Psalm 107:23-32 and Mark 4:35-41. Collins suggests the puzzling statement of 4:36, καὶ ἄλλα πλοῖα ἦν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, could be explained by reference to Ps 107:23, οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν πλοίοις.[58] However, there is no explanation for how or why this phrase should have inspired the other. A lexical connection could surely have been established in a less cryptic and more meaningful way. While the point remains moot, Timothy Milinovich provides a more likely suggestion: "The "other" boats (4:36) recall the "other" seed that was thrown by the sower (4:5, 7–8, 12, 18), just as Jesus' double question in 4:40 that challenges the disciples' understanding of his parables recalls his double question about their ability to recognize the kingdom in the parables in 4:12–13."[59] Alternatively, later Rabbinic traditions about "other

[56] This may be a connection worth exploring further as neither James H. Charlesworth (OTP, 788-95) nor H. W. Hollander and M. De Jonge (*The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* [Leiden: Brill, 1985], 312–15) note any connection between the two texts.

[57] See also the discussion in Heil, *Jesus Walking on the Sea*, 17–22; Herman C. Waetjen, *A Reordering of Power: A Socio-Political Reading of Mark's Gospel* (Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock, 1989), 111–12. Both discuss T. Naph. 6:1-10 in relation to the Markan sea miracles but neither consider there to be literary dependence either way.

[58] Collins, *Mark*, 258. See also Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, 'The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee', *JBL* 103, no. 3 (1984): 363–77, 365.

[59] Milinovich, 'The Parable of the Storm', 89. On pp. 94-95 he elaborates, 'While it is common in Greek literature, since the term "other" (alla) occurs only in these two instances in the first five chapters of Mark, its repetition in 4:5, 7–8, 18, 36 should not be viewed as a coincidence. In the Parables, all instances of alla in 4:5–8, 18 refer to the types of seed that were thrown by the sower. The four types of seed designated as "other" (alla) summarize the crowd's responses to the gospel: the unreceptive, the sporadic, those too attached to worldly success, and those who grow abundantly.

boats" in retellings of Jonah 1 (e.g. *Pirq. R. El* 10), where only Jonah's boat is afflicted by the storm, may be evidence of an earlier Jewish tradition also reflected here in Mark.[60]

Hays argues Mark 4:39, where Jesus rebukes the sea and says to the wind, "Peace, be still," reads like a "midrash" on Ps 107:29 "he made the storm be still, and the waves of the sea were hushed."[61] However, there is no verbal overlap between the phrases in Greek. In Mark 4:39 "Be still" is φιμόω but in Ps 107:29 it is ἵστημι. "Hushed/quiet" is σιωπάω yet in Ps 107:29 it is σιγάω. "Quiet/calm" is γαλήνη, while in Ps 107:30 it is ἡσυχάζω. Comparing both pericopae Mark does not even use the same words for wind (ἄνεμος) and storm (λαῖλαψ) as Psalm 107 (LXX 106, πνεῦμα and καταιγίς). The common lexemes identified by Smothers, θάλασσα (Ps 107:23; Mark 4:39), πλοῖον (107:23; Mark 4:36), and κῦμα (Ps 107:25; Mark 4:37),[62] are so generic it is hard to imagine telling any sea story, let alone a sea rescue story, without them. As Eugen Drewermann admits, "die literarischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Psalm und dem Markus-Text recht zweifelhaft scheinen."[63]

Despite the Christological appeal of this suggested textual connection there is little evidence that Psalm 107 has influenced Mark 4:35-41 and a number of reasons why it is unlikely to have done so. The foregoing points argue that an allusion in Mark 4:35-41 to Psalm 107 is unlikely.[64] While many scholars discern an echo of Psalm 107 here, it is questionable whether this echo contributes to or obscures Mark's intention.

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Their success or failure is based on whether or not their preoccupations with the world prohibit them from recognizing the mystery of God's kingdom in the parables. The "other" boats and the disciples now continue in parallel to the "other" seed examples in 4:5–18. They attempt to follow Jesus across the sea but, as with the "other" seed in 4:5–18, the implied audience is left to wonder whether or not they can weather the storm that is on the horizon.'

[60] Aus, *The Stilling of the Storm*, 22; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 333.

[61] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 67.

[62] Smothers, 'Miraculous Redemption', 11.

[63] 'The literary relationships between the psalm and Mark's text seem quite dubious.' Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, 353.

[64] Pesch (*Das Markusevangelium*, 1.272) argues that Ps 107:23-32 was probably used as a model by the author of Jonah 1. Space does not allow to address this possible connection. But it does not affect the point I am making here, either way.

## §3.6 YHWH and the Chaotic Sea

Paul Achtemeier argues that key to interpreting Mark 4:35-41 is the cultural background of the Babylonian and Israelite creation myths.[65] He suggests that we should see the conflict between Marduk and Tiamat (*Enuma Elish*), YHWH and chaos (Gen 1), and the Flood (Gen 7-8), as informing traditions. He points out that Mark uses ἐκόπασεν (4:39) for the calming of the wind which is the same as the LXX of Gen 8:1 for the calming of the flood waters.[66] In fact he rather underplays his hand. In Genesis ἐκόπασεν is used 4 times, all of them in Gen 8 regarding the flood. In Numbers the word is used 3 times, each time for the Lord's sovereign action, either in stopping fire (11:2) or plague (17:13, 15). Those are its only uses in the Pentateuch, so the word presents as having significant theological overtones. It is however used throughout the rest of the LXX, albeit sparingly, without such significance.[67] Yet the word is only used in the NT to describe Jesus calming a storm (Matt 14:32; Mark 4:39; 6:51). It is possible then that this word has a similar significance for Mark as it does in LXX Genesis and Numbers. However, this one word does not establish a clear connection to any particular referent passage. Additionally, the presence of this word in Jonah 1:11 & 12 provides an alternative explanation for its use in Mark.

Parts of the Qumran *Hodayot* (1QH 3:1-18; 5:20-7:5) provide examples of the use of scriptural images of storms and sea rescues to figuratively describe "eschatological danger and distress, which is followed by God's rescue."[68] Importantly, in these hymns the sea is a "symbol of chaos" and rescue "is indicated by a divine activity upon the chaotic waters."[69] The use of this motif at Qumran increases the plausibility of a similar motif being present in Mark.

Other scriptural texts which reference the divine struggle against chaos may be referenced in Mark 4:35-41. We have already mentioned Isa 51:9 above. Two further texts which evoke this mythic combat are Psalms 89 (LXX 88) and 106 (LXX 105).

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[65] Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed', *passim.*

[66] Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed', 175.

[67] LXX Josh 14:15; Judg (Alexandrinus) 20:28; Judg 15:7; Ruth 1:18; 2 Sam 13:39; Est 2:1; 7:10; Ps 48:10; 105:30; Sir 23:17; 39:28; 43:23; 46:7; 48:10; Hos 8:10; Amos 7:5; Jonah 1:11, 12; Jer 14:21; Ezek 43:10.

[68] Heil, *Jesus Walking on the Sea*, 22.

[69] Heil, *Jesus Walking on the Sea*, 30.

In Ps 89:8 the question is asked, "who is as mighty as you, O LORD?" Then the answer is given, "You rule the raging of the sea; when its waves rise, you still them" (89:9). The words κῦμα, waves, and θάλασσα, sea, are shared with Mark 4:37 (LXX Ps 88:10). Then, the defeat of the mythic chaos sea dragon Rahab is celebrated, "You crushed Rahab like a carcass" (89:10).[70]

Psalm 106:9 (LXX 105:9) personifies the sea in a recounting of the Exodus. It celebrates the God of Israel's deliverance when ἐπετίμησεν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ (he rebuked the Red Sea). Thus ἐπιτιμάω serves to create a lexical connection with Mark 4:39.[71]

While references to these texts in Mk 4:35-41 are certainly possible, they are by no means clear. They are best considered echoes. Other Jewish scriptures that refer to this battle include Job 26:10-12; 38:8-11, Ps 104:5-9 and Isa 51:9-11.[72] Certainly, elements of Mark 4:35-41 resonate strongly within this symbolic background. As Drewermann notes "Das Meer als Symbol ist – ähnlich dem Symbol der Schlange – in den Mythen der Völker stets auch ein Bild für das «Chaos», den «Uranfang»."[73] However, it remains to be seen if there is an even stronger resonance within the narrative.

[70] Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed', 172; Kent Brower, 'Who Then Is This?', 295.

[71] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 68; Brower, 'Who Then Is This?', 296; Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 29.

[72] See further Ludger Schenke, *Die Wundererzählungen des Markusevangeliums*, SBB 5 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1974), 66–67; Pesch, Das Markusevangelium, 1.272; John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 95.

[73] 'The sea as symbol is - similar to the symbol of the serpent - in the myths of the peoples always also a picture for "chaos", the "Primordial Beginning."' Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, 358 n16.

## §3.7 Jonah 1

Jonah 1:1-16 LXX

καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ιωναν τὸν τοῦ Αμαθι λέγων 2 ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύθητι εἰς Νινευη τὴν πόλιν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ κήρυξον ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι ἀνέβη ἡ κραυγὴ τῆς κακίας αὐτῆς πρός με 3 καὶ ἀνέστη Ιωνας τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς Θαρσις ἐκ προσώπου κυρίου καὶ κατέβη εἰς Ιοππην καὶ εὗρεν πλοῖον βαδίζον εἰς Θαρσις καὶ ἔδωκεν τὸ ναῦλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέβη εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦ πλεῦσαι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς Θαρσις ἐκ προσώπου κυρίου 4 καὶ κύριος ἐξήγειρεν πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐγένετο κλύδων μέγας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἐκινδύνευεν συντριβῆναι 5 καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ ναυτικοὶ καὶ ἀνεβόων ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκβολὴν ἐποιήσαντο τῶν σκευῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ κουφισθῆναι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν Ιωνας δὲ κατέβη εἰς τὴν κοίλην τοῦ πλοίου καὶ ἐκάθευδεν καὶ ἔρρεγχεν 6 καὶ προσῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρωρεὺς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ τί σὺ ῥέγχεις ἀνάστα καὶ ἐπικαλοῦ τὸν θεόν σου ὅπως διασώσῃ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ ἀπολώμεθα 7 καὶ εἶπεν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ δεῦτε βάλωμεν κλήρους καὶ ἐπιγνῶμεν τίνος ἕνεκεν ἡ κακία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔβαλον κλήρους καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἐπὶ Ιωναν 8 καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν ἀπάγγειλον ἡμῖν τίνος ἕνεκεν ἡ κακία αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία ἐστίν καὶ πόθεν ἔρχῃ καὶ ἐκ ποίας χώρας καὶ ἐκ ποίου λαοῦ εἶ σύ 9 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ τὸν κύριον θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐγὼ σέβομαι ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηράν 10 καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ ἄνδρες φόβον μέγαν καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας διότι ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες ὅτι ἐκ προσώπου κυρίου ἦν φεύγων ὅτι ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς 11 καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν τί σοι ποιήσωμεν καὶ κοπάσει ἡ θάλασσα ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ὅτι ἡ θάλασσα ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐξήγειρεν μᾶλλον κλύδωνα 12 καὶ εἶπεν Ιωνας πρὸς αὐτούς ἄρατέ με καὶ ἐμβάλετέ με εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ κοπάσει ἡ θάλασσα ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν διότι ἔγνωκα ἐγὼ ὅτι δι᾽ ἐμὲ ὁ κλύδων ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐστιν 13 καὶ παρεβιάζοντο οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο ὅτι ἡ θάλασσα ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐξηγείρετο μᾶλλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς 14 καὶ ἀνεβόησαν πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπαν μηδαμῶς κύριε μὴ ἀπολώμεθα ἕνεκεν τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου καὶ μὴ δῷς ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς αἷμα δίκαιον ὅτι σύ κύριε ὃν τρόπον ἐβούλου πεποίηκας 15 καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν Ιωναν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔστη

(NETS)

And a word of the Lord came to Ionas the son of Amathi, saying, 2 “Arise, and go to Nineue, the great city, and make a proclamation in it, because the cry of its wickedness has come up to me.” 3 And Ionas arose to flee to Tharsis from the presence of the Lord. And he went down to Joppe and found a ship going to Tharsis, and he paid his fare and went on board to sail with them to Tharsis away from the presence of the Lord. 4 And the Lord aroused a wind in the sea, and a great surge came upon the sea, and the ship was in danger of breaking up. 5 And the mariners were afraid and cried out, each to their god. And they heaved the wares that were in the ship into the sea, to be lightened from them. But Ionas went down into the hold of the ship and was sleeping and snoring. 6 And the captain came to him and said to him, “Why are you snoring? Get up, invoke your god in order that the god might deliver us and we not perish.” 7 And they said each to his neighbor, “Come, let us cast lots and learn on whose account this calamity is among us.” And they cast lots, and the lot fell on Ionas. 8 And they said to him, “Tell us on what account this calamity is among us. What is your occupation? And where do you come from? And from what country are you and of what people?” 9 And he said to them, “I am a slave of the Lord, and I worship the Lord, God of the sky, who made the sea and the dry land.” 10 And the men feared with a great fear and said to him, “What is this that you have done!” For the men knew that he was fleeing from the presence of the Lord, because he had told them. 11 And they said to him, “What should we do to you, and the sea will abate from us?” Because the sea kept coming and stirring up a surge even more. 12 And Ionas said to them, “Pick me up, and throw me into the sea, and the sea will abate from you, for I know it is because of me that this great surge is upon you.” 13 And the men exerted themselves to return to land, and they could not, because the sea kept coming and stirring up against them more. 14 And they cried out to the Lord and said, "No way, O Lord, do not let us perish on account of this person's life. And do not put upon us just blood, for you, O Lord, have done as you have wished." 15 And they took Ionas and cast him into the sea, and the sea ceased from its tumult. 16 And the men feared

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|---|---|
| ἡ θάλασσα ἐκ τοῦ σάλου αὐτῆς 16 καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ ἄνδρες φόβῳ μεγάλῳ τὸν κύριον καὶ ἔθυσαν θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ εὔξαντο εὐχάς | the Lord in great fear, and they sacrificed a sacrifice to the Lord and vowed vows. |

The suggestion that the sea storm story from Jonah 1 is a referent of Mark 4:35-41 is often made,[74] although it is debated[75] or ignored[76] by others and there is no consistency regarding the number and significance of the correspondences. Hartman, whilst acknowledging the parallels between the two narratives, considers it of "doubtful" use to the interpreter; he does not think the existence of those parallels should influence interpretation.[77]

The storm story in Jonah 1 is thematically and theologically profound. Jonah is commissioned to a "Gentile mission" and attempts to escape it. The narrative affirms Israel's God as sovereign, omniscient, omnipresent and as creator of land and sea. The Gentile sailors are portrayed as pious and undergo a kind of "conversion" to the God of Israel. And the prophet sacrifices his life to save the sailors.[78] If there is an allusion to Jonah in Mark 4:35-41, there is certainly plenty of potential for a meaningful typology to be developed.

[74] E.g. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.270-74; Goppelt, *Typos*, 72–73; Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.97; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 226; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 337; Ben Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 175–76; David S. Du Toit, *Der abwesende Herr: Strategien im Markusevangelium zur Bewältigung der Abwesenheit des Auferstandenen*, WMANT 111 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2006), 95; Mark Allan Powell, 'Echoes of Jonah in the New Testament', *Word and World* 27 (2007): 157–64, 160; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 195; Kevin J. Youngblood, *Jonah: God's Scandalous Mercy* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2014), 90; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 190; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.194.

[75] Stein, *Mark*, 245; Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, 352–53.

[76] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 66–68; Brower, ''Who Then Is This?', 296; Waetjen, *A Reordering of Power*, 110–12.

[77] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 195.

[78] This interpretation is not just a Christian one but was significant in Rabbinic traditions also. For a list of sources see, Aus, *The Stilling of the Storm*, 6.

### *§3.7.1 Narrative Correspondence*

Twelftree notes, "The remarkable parallel in this story to that of Jonah, which has long been recognised, makes it hard to avoid the conclusion that Mark had this Old Testament story in mind."[79] As both Jonah 1 and Mark 4:35-41 are sea rescue epiphanies, they have many narrative features in common. A journey is verbally initiated (Jonah 1:1-2, Mark 4:35), a voyage is embarked upon (Jonah 1:3; Mark 4:36), a storm arises endangering the vessel (Jonah 1:4; Mark 4:37),[80] the storm is calmed (Jonah 1:15; Mark 4:39), and there is a response to the rescue of great fear or awe (Jonah 1:16; Mark 4:41). However, there are several distinctive narrative details between Jonah 1 and Mark 4:35-41 which suggest a closer relationship between the two stories.

1) Narratively, albeit not intentionally on Jonah's part, the voyage of Jonah 1 takes him to the Gentiles of Nineveh. The crossing of Galilee in Mark 4:35-41 begins a narrative sequence where Jesus crosses the lake back and forth between Jewish and Gentile territory the purpose of which is to demonstrate the significance and availability of the gospel for the Gentiles as well as the Jews.[81] The very next episode features the deliverance and conversion of a Gentile.[82]
2) Second, the "land-lubber" prophet sleeping through a storm, while the mariners fear for their lives, is a unique narrative element of Jonah 1. Similarly, Jesus, among a crew of experienced fishermen, sleeps undisturbed by the storm that terrifies them.[83] Aus argues that Jesus' sleeping in the stern implies he was under the partial deck from which the fishermen would cast their nets, meaning both he and Jonah were asleep below decks.[84] In Jonah 1, "going down" (ירד) is a key verb reflecting Jonah's descent

[79] Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 70–71.

[80] Pesch (*Das Markusevangelium*, 1.270) considers Mark 4:37, γίνεται λαῖλαψ μεγάλη ἀνέμου, to be 'einer deutlichen Anspielung' to Jonah 1:4, ἐγένετο κλύδων μέγας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. But the correspondence is not distinctive.

[81] Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 30; Eric K. Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark: A Narrative Explanation of Markan Geography, the Two Feeding Accounts and Exorcisms', *JSNT* 60 (1995): 3–26.

[82] Joel Edmund Anderson, 'Jonah in Mark and Matthew: Creation, Covenant, Christ, and the Kingdom of God', *BTB* 42 (2012): 172–86.

[83] Garland, *Mark*, 191.

[84] Aus, *The Stilling of the Storm*, 27; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 333.

into Sheol away from God. This emphasis, unsurprisingly, is not reflected in Mark 4:35-41. Instead, Mark's description of Jesus asleep in the stern (πρύμνα) probably reflects the MT text's ירכה (Jonah 1:5), translated in the NRSV as "the hold",[85] but equally able to be translated as the "rear" (cf. Exod 26:22; 1 Sam 24:3), or, in nautical terms, the stern.[86] These unusual details set up a narrative connection to Jonah that is difficult to escape.[87] Indeed, Marcus considers Jesus' sleep in this story to be incredible and to cast doubt on the episode's historicity, albeit with the consequence of confirming an intentional connection with Jonah.[88] However, Marcus may be underestimating how tired a preacher can be after spending the day preaching outdoors.[89]

3) Both Jonah and Jesus are awoken, not by the storm, but by their shipmates, and asked to intervene.[90]
4) In the dialogue of Jonah 1:8 the identity of the prophet is interrogated by his shipmates. This fearful questioning of a prophet resonates well with the disciples' questioning of Jesus in Mk 4:41.[91] However, in Jonah 1 there are two revelations of identity. Jonah is interrogated about who he is. Then in answering, Jonah also reveals the identity of the Lord to the mariners. Implicit in the narrative is that the mariners had been aware that Jonah was being pursued by a certain "YHWH/Lord", just not that YHWH/Lord happened to be the "God of heaven, who made the sea and dry land" (Jonah 1:9-10). In Mark 4:31-45 the two revelations seem echoed in the revelation

[85] Cf. LXX τὴν κοίλην.

[86] HALOT 439. Compare Pesch's comment (*Das Markusevangelium*, 1.270, also 271) that the Markan redactor has imported the idea of a bigger (Mediteranean) ship into the text in assimilating the story to Jonah 1.

[87] Stein, *Mark*, 242.

[88] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 337.

[89] On the other hand, Gnilka (*Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.195) dismisses the idea that Jesus could be tired from preaching and also the possibilty that this action parallels Jonah (despite accepting the correspondence between the captain's complaint and the disciples'). In his view it is simply an 'Ausdruck seiner Souveränität and Sicherheit/ an expression of his sovereignty and security', and this appears to rule out, for Gnilka, any other interpretation.

[90] Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 204.

[91] Anderson, 'Jonah in Mark and Matthew', 177.

that Jesus can command the wind and the sea (4:39) and the fear filled questioning that follows (4:41).

### *§3.7.2 Lexical Coherence*

There are a number of verbal overlaps.[92] Many are too generic to be decisive, for example πλοῖον (Jonah 1:3; Mark 4:36) is a common word for boat and it used several times in Mark elsewhere.[93] Likewise, κῦμα (Mark 4:37) is a common word found in Jonah 2:4 but not specifically in Jonah 1 where the LXX uses the more distinctive σάλος (Jonah 1:15). Both stories use θάλασσα for the sea, but this would be expected, especially as Mark always refers to the Galilean lake this way.[94] The expected word for sleep, καθεύδω, provides lexical coherence with the already noted shared narrative feature of a sleeping prophet on a boat in the storm.

However, two words do stand out as more significant.

1. The disciples' complaint in Mark 4:38 might be expected to refer to the imminent likelihood of sinking, drowning or dying, instead it uses ἀπόλλυμι, perish. This is the same as the captain's complaint in Jonah 1:6 and the sailors' prayer in 1:14.[95] Thus, there is considerable narrative coherence with the protagonist being awoken with a complaint about "perishing." Marcus observes that in the LXX of Jonah, ἀπόλλυμι "expresses the *leitmotiv* of the entire book, escape from destruction at the hand of God."[96] It is thus a narratively coherent use in Mark of a thematically significant word from Jonah.[97]

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[92] Boring, *Mark*, 143. Boring incorrectly suggests 'waking up' provides verbal overlap. However, Jonah 1:6 LXX uses ἀνίστημι not ἐγείρω.

[93] I.e., in addition to 4 occurrences in Mark 4:36, 37, πλοῖον also occurs in Mark 1:19, 20; 4:1; 5:2; 18, 21; 6:32, 45, 47, 51, 54; 8:10, 14.

[94] Mark 4:39, 41, see 1:16; 2:13; 3:7; 4:1; 5:1, 13, 21; 6:47, 48, 49; 7:31. Malbon ('The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee', 376) credibly suggests Mark uses this word in order to make associations with the 'sea' of the OT with all its rich connotations. Aus (*The Stilling of the Storm*, 11) also notes the LXX refers to the lake this way in Num 34:11, Josh 13:27, 12:3 and Deut 33:23. See also Van Iersel, *Mark*, 37–38.

[95] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.272.

[96] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 333.

2. Most significantly, ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν must be seen as a strong lexical parallel.[98] The words appear in the same forms and order in Jonah 1:10 and Mark 4:41, and in Jonah 1:16 the only difference is that "great fear" appears in the dative.[99] The same words and construction occur elsewhere only in 1 Macc 10:8 and Luke 2:9. The cognate-accusative construction reflects a "Semitic manner of intensive statement"[100] and so more easily calls to mind the OT. Thus this is a distinctive repeated phrase in Jonah 1. Not only so, but just as Mark has conflated the narrative elements in Jonah of questioning the prophet's identity and fearful worship of YHWH, so these are the same plot elements of Jonah 1 that contain this phrase, giving both lexical and narrative coherence to the use of this allusive phrase in Mark 4:35-41.[101]

### *§3.7.3 Thematic Inversion*

The narrative of Mark 4:35-41 inverts two important themes from Jonah 1. As argued in §2.6.4 these contrasting themes are often significant. Here, the prophet, Jesus, calms the storm instead of being thrown into it like Jonah. This will be discussed in detail below.[102]

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[97] Stein, *Mark*, 243; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 158.

[98] Witherington (*The Gospel of Mark*, 176) notices this, but only labels it an 'echo.' That is to downplay the precise verbal correspondence. On the other hand Pesch (*Das Markusevangelium*, 1.273) states, 'Die figura etymologica ist für Jon 1 charakteristisch, unverwechselbar / The figura etymologica is distinctive and unmistakable for Jonah 1.'

[99] Both appearances of the phrase in Jonah also include οἱ ἄνδρες, but this is not significant for the purpose of establishing a parallel. See O'Brien, *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative*, 33–34.

[100] Malbon, 'The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee', 366; Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed', 170.

[101] A third more tenuous possibility is raised by Aus (*The Stilling of the Storm*, 50). He notices that in Josephus' account of the Jonah storm he describes the sailors as acting ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους τοῦ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας (by fear concerning their salvation, *Ant.* 9.212). Aus argues that Josephus' use of δέος here matches Mark's use of δειλός (Mark 4:40) to describe the disciples and shows evidence of a shared tradition of interpretation of Jonah (δέος is the cognate noun and δειλός the adjective of δείδω, to fear). While δειλός is a comparatively rare word in the LXX and only has one appearance in the NT outside of this episode and its parallels (Matt 8:26; Rev 21:8.), δέος is a very common word in Josephus (used 60x in *Ant.* and 78x in *J.W.*). Thus it is not clear that this provides a significant link.

[102] See §3.8.3.

There is also a contrast with the mariners. In Jonah 1 the mariners, although afraid and pagan, are religiously exemplary (Jonah 1:5, 16) and show mercy by their reluctance to throw Jonah overboard even when he is identified as the source of their misfortune (Jonah 1:11-14). In Mark the disciples do not pray and are characterised as cowardly. This inversion contributes to Mark's portrayal of the disciples throughout the Gospel.

### *§3.7.4 Contextual Evidence for the Link*

In addition to the thematic and lexical parallels, three further considerations increase the probability of a deliberate reference to Jonah here. First, Jonah was considered an antitype of Jesus in the early church (e.g. Matt 12:38-41, 16:4; Luke 11:29; 1 Clement 7:7; Justin, *Dialogue* 107).[103]

Second, there are other possible narrative references to Jonah in the Gospel. McInerny posits a "question and answer relationship" between Mark 4:35-41 and 6:45-52.[104] The miracle of 6:45-52 is parallel in many ways to 4:35-41. They both involve a "sea" crossing by boat, the evening, Jesus and the disciples, the stopping of wind, the disciples' fear, and the disciples' incomprehension. Importantly they are the only two miracle accounts in Mark where the disciples are the sole beneficiaries of the miracle.[105] It is significant then that Pinchas Lapide finds an "affinity of thought" between Jonah 1 and Mark 6:47-52.[106] The crew of both boats are distressed and crying out (Jonah 1:5; Mark 6:49) and straining at the oars but unable to get anywhere (Jonah 1:13; Mark 6:48).[107] Most useful, however, is his observation that whereas the storm calms when Jonah *leaves* the boat, in Mark 6:51 the wind becomes calm

[103] Collins, *Mark*, 260; Stein, *Mark*, 244; Pinchas Lapide, 'A Jewish Exegesis of the Walking on Water', trans. G.W.S. Knowles, *Concilium* 138 (1980): 38; Richard M. Davidson, 'Did Mathew "Twist" the Scriptures?: A Case Study in the New Testament Use of the Old Testament', in *Hermeneutics, Intertextuality and the Contemporary Meaning of Scripture*, ed. Paul Petersen and Ross Cole (ATF Press, 2014), 61–62; Aus, *The Stilling of the Storm*, 5.

[104] McInerny, 'An Unresolved Question in the Gospel Called Mark', 259.

[105] Du Toit, *Der abwesende Herr*, 88.

[106] Lapide, 'A Jewish Exegesis of the Walking on Water', 38.

[107] See also Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.97.

when Jesus *enters* the boat.[108] However, Lapide wrongly posits that Jesus was going *up* and Jonah going *down*.[109] In fact, in Mark 5:51 Jesus steps *up* (ἀναβαίνω) *into* (εἰς) the boat and in Jonah 1:15 Jonah is lifted *up* (נשא)[110] and cast *into* (εἰς / אל) the sea by the sailors.[111] The shared directionality corroborates the connection. Thus, we see here a significant plot element of Jonah 1 that was missing from Mark 4:35-41 present in its mirror passage. Both passages, when read together, confirm and enhance the resonance with Jonah 1 within each other.

Mark 14:32-42 also deserves consideration. Garland makes the helpful observation that in "bitter irony" Mark 4:35-41 is the reverse coin of Gethsemane. In 4:35-41 Jesus sleeps while the disciples are in distress; in 14:32-42 the disciples sleep while Jesus is in distress.[112] Thematic interplay between the passages is not limited to sleep however. They both share lexical connections to Jonah. Collins plausibly suggests that Jesus' words in Mark 14:34 refer to Ps 42-43 (LXX 41-42) and Jonah 4:9.[113] Presented alongside each other the similarities are striking:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mark 14:34 | | περίλυπός | ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή | μου | ἕως θανάτου |
| Ps 42:6, 12; 43:5 | ἵνα τί | περίλυπος | εἶ ψυχή | | |
| Jonah 4:9 | σφόδρα | λελύπημαι | | ἐγὼ | ἕως θανάτου |

The connection is reinforced by the thematic parallels of a distressed prophet, in a garden, hoping God will change his mind. Just as Jonah mourned the loss of his reputation (Jonah 4:2) and the death of a plant (4:9), Jesus mourned his impending death (Mark 14:34). Both Jonah and Jesus are described as praying, προσεύχομαι (Jonah 4:2; Mark 14:32, 35, 38, 39). In prayer, both Jonah and Jesus ask God to take something from them (Jonah 4:3; Mark 14:36).We have thus established likely references to both Jonah 1 and Jonah 4 elsewhere in the Gospel of Mark. These requests have comparable imperatival sentence constructions and the same final two words.

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[108] Lapide, 'A Jewish Exegesis of the Walking on Water', 38.

[109] Lapide, 'A Jewish Exegesis of the Walking on Water', 38.

[110] The present form of the LXX does not preserve this nuance in Jonah 1:15. However, it is preserved in Jonah's instructions in 1:12 (αἴρω).

[111] Presumably, with the turbulent state of the sea, Jonah didn't have to travel "down" to get into it anyway.

[112] Garland, *Mark*, 191. The same point is made by Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 207.

[113] Collins, *Mark*, 260, 676–77.

λαβὲ τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ (LXX Jonah 4:3)
παρένεγκε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ᾽ ἐμου (Mark 14:36)

Consequently the allusion to Jonah in Mark 4:35-41 is not isolated in Mark but possibly one instance among several.

Thirdly, having recognized the background concept of YHWH's battle with the sea/chaos/Rahab it is perhaps not irrelevant that in later rabbinic tradition Jonah becomes a heroic figure who not only battles the chaos monster, but in fact captures and serves up Leviathan to the redeemed at the eschatological banquet (*Pirqe R. El.* 10).[114] Having once been dinner for a sea monster, in Jewish tradition Jonah can look forward to making dinner out of one. This tradition affirms the possibility that Mark 4:35-41 makes use of an affinity between the chaotic sea mythos and the Jonah narrative from within the 1st century Jewish milieu.

### *§3.7.5 A Deliberate Typological Reference*

Stein states that there is no Jonah typology present and no authorial intention to connect the two stories because there is a lack of parallel language.[115] There is certainly less parallel language than there could be. Given the similar subject matter Mark barely needed to use a word not in Jonah 1.[116] However, given the strong thematic connections we have already discussed, these moderate and strong lexical connections present as sufficient evidence of an allusion to Jonah 1 by Mark. In my view there is both a real correspondence between the two miraculous events and an evident literary typology generated by Mark's use of Jonah 1.

This sustained narrative allusion is stronger than any other suggested allusion in the passage, and it thus seems likely that it is intended to influence our interpretation of the Gospel pericope.

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[114] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 337; Aus, *The Stilling of the Storm*, 6; on the 8-9th c. CE dating of *Pirqe R. El.* see Katharina E. Keim, *Pirqei de Rabbi Eliezer: Structure, Coherence, Intertextuality*, AJEC 96. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 40–43.

[115] Stein, *Mark*, 244–45.

[116] Boring (*Mark*, 146), sees a connection to Jonah here, and suggests that Mark has other considerations in regard to his word choice. E.g. ἄνεμος (Mk 4:37) in place of πνεῦμα (Jonah 1:4), which Boring suggests is simply Mark keeping his terminology for unclean spirits separate.

## §3.8 Reading Mark 4:35-41 with Jonah 1

Having argued that Mark 4:35-41 typologically alludes to Jonah 1 I will now suggest some ways in which this allusion might bear on the meaning of Mark's miracle account.

### *§3.8.1 Jesus as a greater Jonah*

The first interpretive result of the typology is that it creates a comparison between Jesus and Jonah. Jesus is one like Jonah, and therefore a prophet, but he also surpasses Jonah in obedience and power.[117] As Rupert Feneberg writes, "Ein bibelkundiger Leser muss sofort mithören: Jesus ist weit größer als Jona."[118] Mark thus agrees with the other Synoptics that "one greater than Jonah is here!" (Luke 11:32; Matt 12:41).[119] Jesus is thus the antitype of Jonah.

### *§3.8.2 Jesus as Epiphany*

Comparing the two stories, Jesus plays both the role of sleeping prophet and the role of the creator God conquering the sea/chaos. As Pesch argues Jesus, "Er rückt in die Rolle einer Schutzgottheit ein, mehr: in Jahwes Rolle."[120] Jesus is acting as if he is God.[121]

McInerny correctly observes that this calming of the storm is of a different order from the miracles performed previously in the gospel by Jesus. It is an "unprecedented" act for a human miracle worker, unlike the healings and exorcisms.[122] By referencing the story of Jonah, Mark guides our interpretation away from questions of magnitude, "just how powerful is Jesus?" to his focus, Jesus' identity, "just *who* is this?"

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[117] Du Toit, *Der abwesende Herr*, 95; James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, Christianity in the Making, vol 1 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 687.

[118] 'A biblically literate reader must immediately hear: Jesus is far greater than Jonah.' Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 133.

[119] Aus, *The Stilling of the Storm*, 7; Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 71; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.269.

[120] 'He enters the role of a protective deity, more: it is YHWH's role.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.276.

[121] 'Jesus is portrayed not so much as a human being who has trust in God's power to save, but as a divine being. . . [The disciples] have God manifest in the boat with them!' So Collins, *Mark*, 260; see also Boring, *Mark*, 147; Stein, *Mark*, 244; Garland, *Mark*, 192.

[122] McInerny, 'An Unresolved Question in the Gospel Called Mark', 259.

The reaction of great fear, shown by the disciples, parallels the Gentiles' fear of YHWH/the Lord in Jonah 1.[123] As Gnilka writes, "Große Furcht ist die angemessene Reaktion auf die Epifanie Gottes."[124]

As Hays writes, "Jesus steps, at least functionally, into a role given exclusively to the Lord God in the Old Testament."[125] But Hays did not recognize Jonah 1 in his study of the same passage.[126] Have we gained anything by, as I would argue, correctly identifying the primary scriptural reference?

We have indeed gained nothing if all Mark wants to convey to us is the formula Jesus is Israel's God. But Mark's Jonah 1 typology does not just associate Jesus with God. It also associates Jesus with a very human prophet: a prophet whose life was sacrificed to save others (Jonah 1:12, 15), a prophet who had to go to Sheol before he saved the Gentiles (Jonah 2:2), and a Prophet who angrily remonstrated with God over the death of a plant (Jonah 4:6-9).[127] Although the Gospel episode only links verbally to Jonah 1, the real typology that has been established can evoke the wider context of Jonah's story and many other possible real typologies then present themselves.

Potentially we have Jesus' humanity, divinity, sacrifice and messianic identity all folded into 7 brief verses of miracle story, through an allusion to a single scriptural narrative. All 4 themes come together in Achtemeier's description of the episode as an "epiphany" of Jesus *as saviour*.[128]

### *§3.8.3 Jesus Walking on the Water (Mark 6:45-52)*

Recognising Jonah 1 as a scriptural referent of Mark 4:35-41 then leads to seeing it as the background for 6:45-52 as well. If anything, 6:45-52 has been a greater focus of intertextual

[123] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.273.

[124] 'Great fear is the appropriate reaction to the epiphany of God.' Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.197; also Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 94.

[125] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 76.

[126] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 66–68.

[127] For a fascinating interpretation of this gourd as representative of the messianic line of Zerubbabel see Phillip Cary, *Jonah*, BTC (Grans Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 2008), 142–56.

[128] Achtemeier, 'Person and Deed', 176.

Christological exegesis than 4:35-41. Two data have been interpreted as scriptural referents. It is argued that παρελθεῖν (Mark 6:48) functions as a "technical term" for an appearance of God, connecting Mark 6:45-52 with the theophany of Exod 33:17-23; 34:6 and 3 Kgdms 19:11.[129] It is also argued Jesus' words of reassurance to the disciples, ἐγώ εἰμι (Mark 6:50), evoke theophanic episodes, e.g. Exod 3:14, Deut 32:39; Isa 41:4; 51:12.[130] And "Take heart . . . do not fear" (Mark 6:50) may also evoke scriptural epiphanies (e.g., Exod 20:20, θαρσεῖτε; Judg 6:23, μὴ φοβοῦ).[131] Once again we have a clear narrative portrayal of Jesus in the role of Israel's God.

Yet παρέρχομαι is a very common word and even within the Pentateuch the infinitive form is also used for mundane purposes (e.g. Deut 2:30). Mark uses the word elsewhere with no such significance, (Mark 13:30, 31; 14:35).[132] However, the awkward and unexplained way with which it is used in Mark 6:48 is suggestive of some significance. The same is true of ἐγώ εἰμι. For Malbon it is "unlikely" that this phrase "can be free of the connotations of the divine recognition formula" (e.g. Exod 3:14; Deut 32:39; Isa 41:4; 51:12).[133]

That acknowledged, there is still a distinct lack of any narrative coherence between Mark 6:45-52 and any scriptural texts suggested by these words. There is no burning bush (Exod 3:14), no wounding and healing (Deut 32:39), no rousing of victors (Isa 41:4), and no fear of mortals (Isa 51:12). The appearances of these significant phrases in 6:48, 50 do not flow naturally from the narrative but appear to be intrusions upon it. This speaks not only to their significance, but also to the fact we may need to look elsewhere for the primary referent text, if there is one.

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[129] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 72; Collins, *Mark*, 334; Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 220; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 264.

[130] Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 269; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.362; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.270; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 72–73; Collins, Mark, 334; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 267; Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 125.

[131] Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 105-106 n5. See also Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 267.

[132] Malbon, 'The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee', 367.

[133] Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 169–70; See also Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 64.

Lapide correctly notes that Mark 6:46, where Jesus withdraws to pray, conflicts with the interpretation of this scene as a theophany.[134] The narrative also portrays Jesus as being thwarted in his intention to pass his disciples by (Mark 6:48-49).[135] Malbon rightly observes that Exodus 33 and 1 Kings 19 find their Markan parallel, not here, but in the transfiguration (Mark 9:2-8).[136] Reference to a text in one place does not exclude it from being referenced in another, and that is not what I am arguing. Instead, I am arguing that these lexical parallels lack reinforcing narrative parallels. Similarly for the suggestion that this evokes the crossing of the Red Sea or Jordan. As Jens Dechow argues, "Denn in all diesen Texten geht es darum, daß das Wasser zurückweicht und die Betreffenden auf dem Grund des Gewässers gehen, nicht aber um ein Wandeln auf dem Wasser."[137]

A more promising suggested narrative referent for Mark 6:45-52 is Job 9:11.[138] Collins rightly points out that Job 9:11 is an "anti-epiphany", a complaint about human inability to perceive or comprehend God.[139]

| LXX Job 9:11 | (NETS) |
| --- | --- |
| ἐὰν ὑπερβῇ με οὐ μὴ ἴδω καὶ ἐὰν παρέλθῃ με οὐδ᾽ ὧς ἔγνων | If he passed over me, I would certainly not see him, and if he went by me, I would not even know. |

Not only is this congruent with the motif of the disciples' incomprehension in Mark 6:52 but this also provides an alternative source for παρέρχομαι. Semantically ὑπερβαίνω also reinforces the resonance with Mark's use of παρέρχομαι. In its literary context, Job 9:11 is sandwiched between references to God's victory over the sea/Rahab (Job 9:8, 13). Most impressively, LXX Job 9:8b describes the Lord περιπατῶν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐδάφους ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, "walking on the sea as on dry land." Gathercole, observing the repetition of the phrase "walking on the sea" from LXX Job 9:8 in both Mark 6:48 (περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης) and 6:49 (ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα), concludes Job 9:8 is "the only real OT parallel to

[134] Lapide, 'A Jewish Exegesis of the Walking on Water', 35.

[135] Collins, *Mark*, 335.

[136] Malbon, 'The Jesus of Mark and the Sea of Galilee', 367.

[137] 'For in all these texts the water recedes and the people walk on the riverbed/seabed, but do not walk on the water.' Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 220 n237.

[138] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 72; Collins, *Mark*, 336–37.

[139] Collins, *Mark*, 337.

the event in Mark."[140] Job 9:8b is exactly what Jesus is described as doing in Mark 6:48.[141] Thus it sets up a powerful narrative coherence and situates the miracle of walking on the sea firmly within the conceptual framework of YHWH's conflict against chaos.[142] Thus, on both lexical and thematic grounds, Job 9:8-13 presents as the most likely referent of Mark 6:45-52.

Consequently there is a symmetrical congruence of reference between Mark 4:35-41 and Mark 6:45-52, whereby the stronger theme in the one reinforces and confirms the weaker theme in the other. This is shown in the table below.

Table: Reference Congruence Mk 4:35-41; Mk 6:45-52

| | Mk 4:35-41 | Mk 6:45-52 |
|---|---|---|
| Jonah 1 | Strong allusion | Echo |
| YWHW vs Chaos | Echo | Strong Allusion (Job 9) |

### *§3.8.4 Jesus and the Wind and Sea.*

Recognising Job 9:8-13 in Mark 6:45-52 supports our earlier decision to treat the wind of 4:35-41 as an antagonist rather than divinely sent. However, *contra* Marcus, this is not a demonic antagonist, despite the use of language parallel to the exorcisms,[143] but should be understood as chaotic nature being tamed by its true master. Likewise, *contra* Collins, the cessation of the wind in 6:51 constitutes a victory over the wind rather than proof it was serving its purpose. [144] Neither, again *contra* Marcus, should the storm be read symbolically of end-time tribulation.[145] The storm, for Mark, is not a symbolic representative of forces

[140] Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 63. See also Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 267; Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 914.

[141] Cf. Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Jesus in the Gospels: A Biblical Christology*, trans. O. C. Dean (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 31.

[142] Dechow notes these things and plausibly suggests that the 'whirlwind' in Job 9:17 (MT) may provide a connection between Job 9 and the sea miracles of Mark (*Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 222).

[143] Marcus, *Mark* 1-8, 340; also Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 94, 96; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.272; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.195.

[144] Collins, *Mark*, 335.

[145] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 337.

hostile to the church which Jesus can help them endure but a "real" metonymic representative of a wild creation over which Jesus is absolute Lord.[146]

Jesus is thus portrayed in the role of victorious creator God conquering the forces of chaos (Job 9), and as the creator God of Israel stilling the storm (Jonah 1).[147] Coupled with Jesus' other victories over spiritual forces and sickness we are reminded that, whatever Jesus goes on to achieve at the cross, in Mark's Gospel Jesus is already performing miracles and acting as conqueror, victor, Lord and God.

### *§3.8.5 Jesus as Idealised Human?*

There is, however, one minority view which would contradict the conclusion that Jesus is Lord and God. Kirk and Young argue that scholars who consider the water miracles to demonstrate some manner of divine identity for Jesus "overlook a potentially crucial piece of evidence."[148] This evidence is Ps 89:25 (LXX 88:26). For Kirk and Young, despite the acknowledged lack of textual allusion to Psalm 89 in Mark 4:35-41 or 6:45-52, this text demonstrates Jewish expectation of a messiah who could control waters as part of his idealised humanity and kingship.[149] This coming messiah would, like Moses (Exod 14:16, 27) and Joshua (Josh 3:7–4:19), be an agent of God's power who could control water.[150] Indeed this expectation found concrete expression in the rebel Theudas as recounted in Jos. *Ant.*

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[146] *Catena in Marcum* §313: "For while sleep and his appearance showed that he was a man, the sea and the calm declared that he was God. For by a single command, he dissolved the whole storm immediately. He did not need a prayer, nor a rod (like the one Moses held out), for he is a like a master imposing order on a slave girl and like a craftsman imposing order on what he has made." Trans. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 279.

[147] Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 208; see also John Gill, *Exposition*, on Mark 4:41: "Surely this person must not be a mere man; he must be more than a man; he must be truly God, that has such power over the wind and sea."

[148] J. R. Daniel Kirk and Stephen L. Young, '"I Will Set His Hand to the Sea": The Relevance of Ps 88:26 LXX to Debates about Christology in Mark', *JBL* 133 (2014): 333–40, 335. See also Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 90–92, 102–4, 434–42.

[149] Kirk and Young, 'I Will Set His Hand to the Sea', 336.

[150] Kirk and Young, 'I Will Set His Hand to the Sea', 337.

20.97 who told his followers he was a prophet and would divide the river Jordan by his command.[151]

Despite the Kirk and Young's presentation of this evidence it remains to be shown, even if such a belief was operative in Second Temple Judaism, that it is pertinent for interpretation of Mark 4:35-41. However, a number of other weaknesses in Kirk and Young's argument are apparent. Theudas' attempted crossing of the Jordan was clearly symbolic and so does not necessarily imply the expectation of general power over water in any situation. While Theudas (as recounted by Josephus) was certainly drawing on traditions around Moses and Joshua in his promise to divide the river for his followers it is not evident that in doing so he was in any way interpreting Psalm 89:25. If Theudas had understood himself to be fulfilling Psalm 89:25, we might expect that he would have declared himself king. Josephus states clearly that he claimed to be a prophet – this would align him first to Moses rather than David.

It is not clear then, that Ps 89:25 has been previously read in the way now proposed by Kirk and Young.[152] In fact, when read in context of the whole of Psalm 89, verse 25 does not

[151] Kirk and Young, 'I Will Set His Hand to the Sea', 337. When making the same argument elsewhere Kirk (Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 103–4) also draws upon Pessiqta Rabbati 36:1, where interpreting Ps 89:25 it reads, concerning the messiah, "even the seas and rivers will stop flowing." However, the 9th C. Pessiqta while associating Ps 89:25 with the messiah does not relate this to miracle working power over creation at all, but rather interprets it as the seas and rivers stopping of their own accord. This would put the waters stopping in the category of apocalyptic phenomena, similar to e.g. Joel 2:31, rather than messianic miracle working. Regardless, as an isolated and late text it can hardly be considered to demonstrate a Second Temple Jewish tradition capable of influencing the composition of Mark.

[152] A further suggestion made by Kirk (*A Man Attested by God*, 125) is that "What Psalm 89 anticipates for a future Davidide, Sirach 50 ascribes to an idealized high priest." Following Fletcher-Louis ('The Cosmology of P and Theological Anthropology in the Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sira', in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, vol. 1, Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 9 [London: T&T Clark, 2004], 69–113, 102) he argues that the priest's "creation of the bronze sea" was a re-enactment of the third day of creation and thus sees the priest, Simon son of Onias, acting as the creator God defeating the chaotic waters. However in Sir 50:1-4, στερεόω – strengthened, ἀνάλημμα – fortified wall, ἐνισχύω – strengthen and πολιορκήσις – siege, are all terms that serve to set a context of martial reinforcement. So Kirk and Fletcher-Louis are correct to see that Simon is a warrior. However, I am not persuaded to read v3 as referring to the bronze laver of the Temple and thus relating to the Temple imagery in Gen 1. In

easily read as a promise of miracle power at all, perhaps explaining why it is not used in this way in early Jewish literature. The psalm is in three distinct sections with a small conclusion. All the sections follow a parallel thematic structure, especially in the earlier verses of each section.[153]

While the parallel structure is not strictly adhered to, it is consistent and essential to the interpretation of the psalm. So, e.g., the initial verses of the first two sections and the conclusion refer to faithfulness, while in opposition the initial verse of the lament section refers to rejection. The second theme of each section is David as servant, and so on. The pertinent section for this study is the theme of God's extensive dominion over the heavens and earth, including stilling the waves and crushing Rahab/chaos (as previously discussed above) in 89:9-12.[154] Kirk and Young rightly see this as mirrored in v25.[155] However, they are wrong to see this mirroring as implying God-like power over the sea and rivers. This goes against the logic of the structure within the psalm which does not promise any miraculous power to David, only that God will faithfully grant success in the very human actions expected of a king, namely war and procreation. Furthermore, following the structure, v25 finds its own mirror in the lament of v44, which does not lament natural disasters, exposure to bad weather, or even getting wet whilst crossing rivers. It laments the loss of sovereignty, the sceptre and the throne being taken away from David's line.[156] This provides an unforced interpretation through all three sections, and suggests that "I will set his hand on the sea and his right hand on the rivers" is simply and straightforwardly to be understood as referring to the extent of a human king's mundane sovereignty over territorial waters, not to miracle working power.[157] It is in this way, I would suggest, that the psalm was most likely to be read and hence why there is no evidence of it being read in terms of miracle power for the messiah.

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context it can be nothing other than a cistern for storing water in the event of a siege, which interpretation has the added advantage of being what the Greek of v3 literally says. Indeed, far from being "bronze" the cistern is hewn from rock (λατομέω) and the reference to sea (θάλασσα) is simply a hyperbolic description of its great size.

[153] John Goldingay, *Psalms: Psalms 42-89* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2007), 665.

[154] Mays, *Psalms*, 284.

[155] Kirk and Young, 'I Will Set His Hand to the Sea', 336.

[156] Goldingay, *Psalms 42-89*, 687.

[157] Mays, *Psalms*, 285; Goldingay, *Psalms 42-89*, 678–79.

### *§3.8.6 Jesus and Prayer*

Another feature of the episode highlighted by comparison with Jonah 1 is the absence of prayer. Jonah 1 describes the mariners praying to their gods and encouraging Jonah to pray to his. Jesus is sometimes found praying throughout Mark (Mk 1:35; 6:46; 14:32-39) and encourages his disciples to pray (Mk 9:29; 11:24, 25). However, "Jesus bezwingt in Mk 4,39 den Seesturm allein durch sein Wort. Es wird nicht da von gesprochen, daß Jesus sich – etwa im Gebet – an die Macht Gottes wendet, ihn zum Eingreifen bewegt."[158] Instead the disciples, afraid they might perish, do not follow the pattern of the mariners in Jonah 1:6 and ask Jesus to intercede for them, but seem to expect Jesus himself will be able to save them.[159] As Koch suggests, "Ein Hilferuf ist ja gerade kein Zeichen von Unglauben, sondern des Vertrauens in die Macht des Wundertäter."[160] Whatever they were hoping Jesus would do, what he actually does is beyond their expectations. Whether or not Jesus is here the recipient of prayer, Jesus is revealed here as one with the power and authority to answer prayer and with the power to save.

Jesus may retreat at times to pray to God, but he does not rely on prayer to perform miracles. As Gnilka observes, "Wichtig ist zu sehen, daß die Vollmacht, die im Alten Testament Jahwe zugesprochen wird, von Jesus ausgesagt wird, der nicht wie Jona durch Gebet, sondern aus eigener Machtfülle das Wunderbare geschehen läßt."[161] The closing question of 4:41 shows this. It is not that God answered his prayer, or stilled the storm at his need. It is that Jesus himself has authority over the wind and waves. Who then can he be?

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[158] 'In Mk 4:39, Jesus conquers the storm by his word alone. It is not mentioned that Jesus turns to the power of God, for example in prayer, and moves him to intervene.' Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 208.

[159] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 338.

[160] 'A call for help is not a sign of unbelief at all but of trust in the power of the miracle worker.' Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 97; also Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 205.

[161] 'It is important to note that the authority given in the Old Testament to Yahweh is predicated of Jesus, who brings about miracles, not through prayer like Jonah, but through his own fullness of power.' Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.196.

### *§3.8.7 Jesus and his Mission*

The references to Jonah also portray Jesus as the one who is sent. The salvation of Gentiles is a central issue in Jonah,[162] and the use of Jonah typology here serves to reinforce the parallel theme in Mark.[163] Jesus is sent to bring God's grace and salvation to the Gentiles, reflecting Mark's concern to validate "the Gentile mission by relating it to the history of Israel and the ministry of Jesus".[164] However, Jesus is also sent to preach repentance and impending doom "to that great city" Jerusalem (Mark 13:2).[165]

This reading accords with Rudolf Pesch's description of Mark as a *Missionsbuch*.[166] Thus Jesus may be Lord of creation but he is also the servant of someone even greater, the one who sends him (Mark 9:37; 12:6), just as he himself sends out his disciples (3:14; 6:7) and will one day send the angels (13:27). Significantly, however, the initiative for the voyage is from the word of Jesus (4:35), rather than Israel's God (Jonah 1:1). Jesus is thus not the reluctant prophet, but, to borrow the words of Matthew and Luke, "the Lord of the Harvest" (Matt 9:38; Luke 10:2).

### *§3.8.8 Jesus and Christology.*

While both episodes show Jesus displaying the power and prerogative of Israel's God, they also show him as the antitype of Jonah. This is not a simple equation. Jesus' humanity, his need for sleep (4:38),[167] his frustration with the disciples (4:40), his need to seek God in

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[162] Stephen B. Chapman and Laceye C. Warner, 'Jonah and the Imitation of God: Rethinking Evangelism and the Old Testament', *JTI* 2 (2008): 43–69.

[163] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 336; Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.98.

[164] Donald Senior, 'The Struggle to Be Universal: Mission as Vantage Point for New Testament Investigation', *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 46 (1984): 66.

[165] This is in harmony with Werner Kelber's thought in *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* (Fortress Press, 1974), 45–65, whereby he argues Mark combines the miracle stories with Jesus' ferrying across the Sea of Galilee in order to widen the scope of the Christian mission to include both Jew and Gentile.

[166] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1:61, "Die ganze Geschichte Jesu ist Inhalt des Evangeliums geworden. Das ganze Buch des Markus ist *Missionsbuch*", emphasis original.

[167] Jesus' sleep after a long day of teaching is not a metaleptic reference or a sign of his trust in the midst of the storm. So Stein, *Mark*, 242. *Pace* Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 158.

prayer (6:46), and his thwarted intentions (6:48-49), are all also part of these episodes.[168] Like Jonah, Jesus is a prophet from the despised region of Galilee (2 Kgs 14:25, cf. John 7:52). Like Jonah, Jesus will give his life to save others. Like Jonah, Jesus' preaching will bear fruit among the Gentiles. Like Jonah, Jesus will have his own conflict with God's will (Mark 14:35-36) and while it is resolved in obedience it remains a distinction between Jesus and God that cannot be collapsed. Thus Mark creates a tension for his audience around the identity of Jesus. "A functional view of the messiah"[169] simply cannot do justice to this Messiah-Son-of-God who is obeyed by the wind and the sea and walks on the sea as if it is dry land. Yet he cannot simply be equated to God. He is noticeably human.

### *§3.8.9 Jesus and His Disciples.*

It can be argued that the disciples fulfil a negative role, characterised by their lack of understanding and hardened hearts.[170] However, rather than the hopelessness of Job 9:11, in Mark 6:50-51 Jesus does not pass the disciples by leaving them in confusion, but comforts them, reveals himself, and steps into the boat. Jesus' tenderness in 6:50 is a marked contrast to his frustration in 4:40. In both episodes he inspires terror and confusion and yet in both he is also relationally present with the disciples. His identity remains a mystery to them, but, whoever he is, he is in the boat with his disciples. The disciples lack faith (4:40) and lack understanding (4:41; 6:52); but in contrast to the mariners of Jonah 1 they do not lose their prophet; in contrast to Job 9:11 they do not lack the relational presence of the Lord; instead, through Jesus, they somehow have both. Thus the negative reading of the disciples as those who lack something is challenged by reading these sea rescue epiphanies against their referent scriptural texts.

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[168] See further Hans F. Bayer, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, HTA 5 (Gießen: SCM R. Brockhaus, 2008), 78.

[169] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 225.

[170] The most extreme example of this view is probably Weeden, *Mark*, 50–51. See also, e.g., Samuel Sandmel, 'Prolegomena to a Commentary on Mark', in *New Testament Issues*, ed. Richard Batey (London: SCM, 1970), 52–55.

## §3.9 Conclusion

This study has examined a number of texts suggested to be referents of Mark 4:35-41. Most of them were not found to be likely allusions. In particular Psalm 107 was shown to lack thematic coherence with Mark 4:35-41 and Markan theological aims. The cultural background of YHWH's conflict with chaos was tentatively identified as present. But the most likely referent was identified as Jonah 1 on thematic and lexical grounds. This comprised a compound allusion, sustained over the whole pericope, creating a literary typology.

Further, in Mark 4:35-41 Jesus is presented as the antitype of Jonah. The literary typology confirms a perceived real correspondence between the stories of Jonah and Jesus. The typology is rich with potential interpretive significance for, inter alia, Jesus' Gentile mission and characterisation of the disciples.

Mark 6:45-52, a mirror passage to 4:35-41, also had metaleptic resonance with Jonah, but more so with Job 9:8-13. Thus the two passages' references reinforce and balance each other. In both 4:35-41 and 6:45-52 Jesus is portrayed in the narrative role of God, suggesting a consistent theomorphic typology in the sea miracles.

## §4 David (and Goliath) Typology in Mark 5:1-20

*But now the giants who were begotten by spirits and flesh –*
*they will call them evil spirits on the earth.* (1 Enoch 15:8)

Mark 5:1-20

Καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γερασηνῶν.[1] 2 καὶ ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μνημείων ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, 3 ὃς τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἁλύσει οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δῆσαι 4 διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλάκις πέδαις καὶ ἁλύσεσιν δεδέσθαι καὶ διεσπάσθαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἁλύσεις καὶ τὰς πέδας συντετρῖφθαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἴσχυεν αὐτὸν δαμάσαι· 5 καὶ διὰ παντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἦν κράζων καὶ κατακόπτων ἑαυτὸν λίθοις. 6 Καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔδραμεν καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ 7 καὶ κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγει· τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν, μή με βασανίσῃς. 8 ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐτῷ· ἔξελθε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. 9 καὶ ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν· τί ὄνομά σοι; καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· λεγιὼν ὄνομά μοι, ὅτι πολλοί ἐσμεν. 10 καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἵνα μὴ αὐτὰ ἀποστείλῃ ἔξω τῆς χώρας. 11 Ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλη βοσκομένη· 12 καὶ παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· πέμψον ἡμᾶς εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσέλθωμεν. 13 καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐξελθόντα τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, καὶ ὥρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς δισχίλιοι, καὶ ἐπνίγοντο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. 14 Καὶ οἱ βόσκοντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς· καὶ ἦλθον ἰδεῖν τί ἐστιν τὸ γεγονὸς 15 καὶ ἔρχονται πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον καθήμενον ἱματισμένον καὶ σωφρονοῦντα, τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. 16 καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἰδόντες πῶς ἐγένετο τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν χοίρων. 17 καὶ ἤρξαντο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν. 18 Καὶ

(Author's Trans.)

1 They came to the other side of the sea into the region of the Gerasenes. 2 [Jesus] having disembarked from the boat, suddenly, out from the tombs a man encountered him, with an unclean spirit. 3 Who had his dwelling in the tombs and no one, not even with a chain, was able to bind him. 4 Because often he was bound in shackles and chains but the chains were torn apart by him and the shackles smashed and no one was strong enough to subdue him; 5 and through every night and day in the tombs and in the mountains he was crying out and cutting himself with stones. 6 Seeing Jesus from afar he rushed and bowed before him 7 And he called out in a loud voice, saying, "Who am I to you, Jesus, Son of the Highest God? I adjure you by God, do not torment me." 8 For he had said to him, "Come out of the man, unclean spirit!" 9 He was asking him, "What is your name?" And he says to him, "Legion is my name, because we are many." 10 And he exhorted him many times not to send them out of the region. 11 There was towards the mountain a huge herd of pigs grazing. 12 And he exhorted him, saying, "Send us into the pigs so that we might go into them." 13 And he permitted them. Having left [the man] the unclean spirits went into the pigs and the herd rushed against the cliff into the sea, as [many as] two thousand, and were choking in the sea. 14 Their herders fled and announced [what had happened] in the city and in the field. They [the local people] came to see was happening. 15 They come to Jesus and see the one possessed by demons sitting, clothed and right-minded, the one who had the "Legion", and they feared. 16 They related to them what they saw, how it happened concerning the demon-possessed [man] and the pigs. 17 They began to exhort him to go away from their

[1] The variant reading of Γαδαρηνῶν (in, e.g., A C K) is best explained as assimilation to Matt 8:28. Gundry (*Mark*, 255–56) makes a strong case for Γεργεσηνῶν (e.g. א² L Δ Θ) on the basis of it being a more likely historical location. However, the precise place name makes little difference to the argument of this chapter. So the preferred reading of NA28, Γεργασηνῶν (from, e.g., א* B D) will be retained.

ἐμβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον παρεκάλει αὐτὸν ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς ἵνα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ᾖ. 19 καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λέγει αὐτῷ· ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς καὶ ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ κύριός σοι πεποίηκεν καὶ ἠλέησέν σε. 20 καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον.

border. 18 Embarking into the boat, the demon-possessed [man] exhorted him, to be with him. 19 He did not permit him but says to him, "depart to your house and to your [people] and announce to them how much the Lord has done for you and [how much] he had mercy on you. 20 He went away and began to preach in the Decapolis how much Jesus had done for him and everyone was (continually) amazed.

## §4.1 "A Strange Story"

There are a number of strong links between 5:1-20 and the preceding episode of Mark 4:35-41.[2] The journey anticipated in 4:5 is only completed in 5:1; the boat that is embarked in 4:36 is disembarked in 5:2. The exorcistic language of the stilling of the storm (4:39) is followed by an actual exorcism. The question "who is this" of 4:41 finds an answer in the demon's cry of 5:7. Both episodes show Jesus' single-handed defeat of forces that overwhelmed others. Both demonstrate the efficacy and authority of Jesus' spoken word. And both contain a fearful response to Jesus' display of power. France rightly argues these connections suggest a Christological question-and-answer from one episode to the other.[3] This is not a confused collection of traditions but a well-formed story with a Christological message.

However, there can be no arguing with the categorisation of Mark 5:1-20 as a strange story.[4] Equally inarguably, it has also led to an impressive array of even stranger and wildly varying interpretations.[5] A number of unique and perplexing features present themselves.

Most prominent is the confusing nature of the exorcism whereby the evil spirit(s) adjure[6] Jesus by God not to torment them. To begin with, in both Jewish and Greek exorcisms the exorcist was the one that adjured the demon (compare e.g. Josephus *Ant.* 8.2.5. §45-49.

[2] Achtemeier, 'Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae', 265–91, 275–76; Derrett, 'Contributions', 2–17, 3; Collins, *Mark*, 265.

[3] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 226.

[4] 'This is one of the strangest stories in Mark.' Schweizer, *The Good News According to Mark*, 111.

[5] For a representative sample see the summary in Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 97–99.

[6] 'Adjure' (ὁρκίζω) was a technical term in both Jewish and Greek exorcism accounts. Collins, *Mark*, 165–66, 268.

Lucian, *Philops.* 15-16).[7] To compound the confusion, at the end of the episode Jesus is asked to depart and does![8]

This is the longest exorcism or miracle account of any kind in Mark and also contains the most detail.[9] The level of detail of the description of the demoniac, in particular, has been considered by most scholars to warrant some attempt at explanation. "Die Besonderheit und Schwere des Falles (vgl. Zu 5,25f) von Besessenheit wird breit und umständlich erzählt."[10] On the other hand the disciples, who played such a key role in the preceding episode, are now conspicuous by their absence.[11] They do not even appear to get out of the boat.[12] The focus on the demoniac and the absence of the disciples sets the scene for an epic contest between Jesus and the Demoniac[13] and has "all the characteristics of a single combat."[14]

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[7] Nicholas Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits: Reading the Gerasene Demoniac (Mark 5: 1-20) with the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36)', *CBQ* 78 (2016): 430–47, 431; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 228; Stein, *Mark*, 254; Jennifer Nyström, 'Jesus' Exorcistic Identity Reconsidered: The Demise of a Solomonic Typology', in *Jesus and the Scriptures: Problems, Passages and Patterns*, ed. Tobias Hägerland, LNTS 552 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 78; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 198.

[8] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 165.

[9] Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 62; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.200.

[10] 'The peculiarity and severity of the case (compare 5:25-26) of possession is broadly and laboriously narrated.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.285.

[11] Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 69.

[12] This may of course be a perfectly sensible course of action in this case. 'The night-time storm experience at sea and the encounter with the chaotic and violent behavior of the demoniac further intensify their [Jesus and the disciples'] sense of being on the margins of social stability and personal safety.' Carol Schersten Lahurd, 'Reader Response to Ritual Elements in Mark 5:1-20', *BTB* 20 (1990): 154–60, 156.

[13] Warren Carter (Warren Carter, 'Cross-Gendered Romans and Mark's Jesus: Legion Enters the Pigs (Mark 5:1–20)', *JBL* 134 [2014]: 139–55, 148) notes that the scene evokes the Roman arena where 'the civilised world confronted lawless nature', here the kingdom of God, brought near in Jesus confronts the lawless demons.

[14] Jean Starobinski, "The Struggle with Legion: A Literary Analysis of Mark 5: 1-20," trans. Dan O. Via, *New Literary History* 4, no. 2 (1973): 331–56, 340. See also Jean Starobinski, "An Essay in Literary Analysis – Mark 5:1-20," *The Ecumenical Review* 23, 1971, 377-397; and Jean Starobinski, "The Gerasene Demoniac: A Literary Analysis of Mark 5:1-20," in *Structural Analysis and Biblical Exegesis*, Alfred Johnson (trans.) (Pittsburgh, Penn.: Pickwick, 1974), 57-84; the French original

In the narrative, Mark relates events out of order (5:6, 8),[15] allowing temporary ambiguity as to the progress of the exorcism.[16] The time the exorcism takes and the conversation of which it consists give the appearance of genuine struggle.[17] What does this say about Jesus' power?[18] Is it, as Derrett suggests, "to indicate that Jesus's initial command is not his final offer!" or just for the reader to "enjoy the bargaining"?[19]

The destruction of the vast herd of pigs is both a unique feature and a source of considerable interpretational uncertainty.[20] Is it evidence of a successful exorcism,[21] or part of the cure?[22]

Finally, it is not clear what we are to make of the explicit Christological statements. Is the demonic address of 5:7 a trustworthy confession? If so how does it add to our knowledge of who Jesus is? Is the failure of the healed demoniac to follow Jesus' exact instructions in 5:19-

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being, Jean Starobinski, "Le démoniaque de Gérasa: Analyse littéraire de Marc 5. 1-20," in R. Barthes, F. Bovon, et al. *Analyse structurale et exégèse biblique: essais d'interpretation* (Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1971).

[15] For Schweizer these out of sequence verses are a sign of 'the narrator's lack of skill' and of 'some narrator that did not understand that demons experience agony by merely being in the presence of Jesus', Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 112. This is to fail to note the purpose of these narrative devices.

[16] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 347.

[17] Stein presents a false dichotomy between Jesus' power here as absolute and unchallenged and the demons staging a negotiation (albeit from a position of relative weakness) then argues for the former. Stein, *Mark*, 254. Rather, I would argue the narrative intends to display genuine demonic resistance to Jesus, even though that resistance is ultimately futile.

[18] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 229.

[19] Derrett, 'Spirit-Possession', 286–93, 288.

[20] Hans Moscicke describes it as the story's 'greatest oddity' ('The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers: Echoes of Second Temple Scapegoat Traditions in Mark 5.1-20', *JSNT* 41 [2019]: 363–64).

[21] Gundry, *Mark*, 252; Collins, *Mark*, 271; Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 89.

[22] Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 225; Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, WUNT 2. 54 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 75; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 370.

20 a mistake or an example of mission, discipleship and correctly conflating Jesus with "the Lord"?[23]

Yet, it has been suggested that the episode is a microcosm of a New Testament Gospel.[24] Jesus arrives, is declared to be the son of God, defeats the strong man, restores and heals, and then departs victorious, commissioning the saved to announce the good news among the nations. Despite the areas of confusion and ambiguity, Mark's careful crafting of the story can still be discerned in subtle changes of tense as the focus of the story moves.[25] Even the prepositions seem to be carefully arranged: Ann-Janine Morey observes how "The first half of the narrative is built on 'out;' the second half is built on 'in.'"[26]

The following table identifies the fifteen Markan *hapaxes* used in Mark 5:1-20. These *hapaxes* have fuelled a number of scholarly conjectures, the most pertinent of which I will address in due course. They are listed in the following table along with all NT occurrences of the same lemma and LXX occurrences as applicable. Where the word is common in the LXX only significant parallels have been noted.

[23] All of this is not to mention the geographic confusion caused by this story! The identification of this site with Kursi is argued for by both Aus (*My Name Is Legion*, 69–82) and France (*The Gospel of Mark*, 227). Each scholar has different reasons for this choice. With their arguments combined I consider the case to be convincing. However, that discussion is not relevant for this current argument.

[24] Starobinski, 'The Struggle with Legion', 346–47.

[25] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 232; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 345.

[26] Ann-Janine Morey, 'The Old In/Out', in *The Daemonic Imagination: Biblical Text and Secular Story*, ed. Robert Detweiler and William G. Doty, AAR Studies in Religion 60 (Atlanta, Ga.; Scholars Press, 1990), 169–79, 172.

Table: Markan *Hapax Legomena* in Mark 5:1-20[27]

| # | Mark 5:1-20 | Lemma | Other NT uses | LXX |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 5:1, Gerasenes | Γερασηνοί | Luke 8:26 | Place name |
| 2 | 5:3, dwelling | κατοίκησις | | Dwelling of people of Israel, Gen 10:30, 27:30; Exod 12:40; Num 15:2. Human dw. 2 Sam 9:12, 2 Kgs 2:19; 1 Esd 1:19. God's dw. 1 Kgs 8:30 & 2 Chr 6:21. |
| 3 | 5:3,4, chains | ἅλυσις | Eph 6:20 | Wis 17:17 (nightmare scene of terror) |
| 4 | 5:4, shackles | πέδη | | 1 Macc 3:41, Sir 6:24, 33:29. |
| 5 | 5:4, tear apart | διασπάω | Acts 23:10 | Judg A14:6 x2, 16:9, 16:12; Job 19:10; Hos 13:8; Isa 58:6; Jer 2:20, 4:20, 10:20. |
| 6 | 5:4, tame/subdue/ overpower | δαμάζω | Jas 3:7-8 x3 | Only LXX occurrence in Dan 2:40 (Dan θ 2:40 x2) "another kingdom, strong as iron . . . overpowers everything" |
| 7 | 5:5, bruise/break | κατακόπτω | | Common in LXX. Mainly military "smiting" or destruction of idols, e.g. Dan θ 7:23. |
| 8 | 5:7, adjure/swear | ὁρκίζω | Acts 19:13 | Swear, 2 Kgs 11:4; 1 Esd 8:92; Ezek 10:5; Neh 5:12; Song 2:7, 3:5, 5:8-9, 8:4; Dan 6:13. Swear by God, 2 Chr 8:15, 36:13; 1 Esd 1:46; Neh 13:25. |
| 9 | 5:9, Legion | λεγιών | Matt 26:53 | Demon's name, Latin loanword |
| 10 | 5:11, 13, herd | ἀγέλη | Matt 8:30-32, Luke 8:32-33 | 1 Sam 17:34, 24:4; 4 Macc 5:4; Prov 27:23; Song 1:7, 4:1-2, 6:5-6; Isa 60:6 |
| 11 | 5:13, rush/ hasten | ὁρμάω | Matt 8:32, Luke 8:33, Acts 7:57, 19:29 | Moderately common in LXX esp. 2 Macc. Num 16:42 an esp. interesting parallel.[28] |
| 12 | 5:13, slope/cliff | κρημνός | Matt 8:32 Luke 8:33 | LXX only in 2 Chr 25:12 x2, same genitive masc. sing. form.[29] |
| 13 | 5:13, choked | πνίγω | Matt 13:7; 18:28 | 1 Sam 16:14, 15 |
| 14 | 5:15, clothed | ἱματίζω | Luke 8:35 | |
| 15 | 5:15, right mind/ sober | σωφρονέω | Mark 8:and Luke 8:35, Rom 12:3, 2 Cor 5:13, Tim 2:6, 1 Peter 4:7 | |

However the importance of such a large number of *hapaxes* can be overstated. A number of words, while rare, are the sort of language necessitated by the unusual events described (#3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 15). Two are less usual forms of a common root: for κατοίκησις (#2) compare κατοικέω (LXX x683, NT x44), and for ἱματίζω (#14) compare ἱμάτιον (LXX x223, NT x60).

[27] This table is an adapted, corrected and expanded version of the list provided in Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 2–3.

[28] The congregation of Israel *rushes* to the tent of meeting in rebellion against Moses and Aaron where 14,700 of them will shortly be killed by plague.

[29] Amaziah and the army of Judah throw 10,000 'children' of Seir from the *cliff*.

Two are names (# 1, 9). This leaves only four *Hapaxes* which are suggestive of a scriptural reference in and of themselves, before any other factors are taken into account. Two suggest links to Daniel (#6, 7) and two to 1 Samuel (#10, 13). These links will be discussed below in their relevant sections.

### §4.2 Exploring the Conventions

Exorcism in the Synoptic Gospels is the verbal casting out of evil spirits (also called demons) from individuals being afflicted and possessed by them. This exact form of exorcism is unattested prior to the NT. However there are other accounts of attempts to control, banish and influence personal spirits in antiquity, where individuals demonstrate their power over spirits.[30] As will be discussed below, δαιμόνιον and cognates do not necessarily refer to such personal spirits so discussion will be limited to the relevant narratives, not to every instance of the word δαιμόνιον.

Plutarch records that evil spirits were feared (*Def. Orac.* 417C, D, E). Falling over (cf. Mark 3:11; 5:6; 9:18) could be a sign of affliction by a spirit (Plutarch, *Marc.* 20.5f; Lucian, *Philops.* 16). His account of Nicias' manifestation of spirit possession is striking in its graphic detail and parallels to the gospel accounts (falling down, affected voice, drives the victim out and indecent dress), but also shows that enacting spirit possession could advantage an individual – in this case avoiding arrest (*Marc.* 20.5f). Conversly, exorcisms could be performed for financial gain (Origen, *Cels.* 1.68; Lucian, *Philops.* 16).

As well as verbal exorcisms, spirits could be threatened by letter (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.38). Spirits could challenge holy men (*Vit. Apoll.* 4.20) as they do in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts. Another feature is the evidence of the spirit's departure, either through manipulation of a physical object (Jos. *Ant.* 8.46-49; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.20) or by a visible apparition (Lucian, *Philops*, 16). The rush of the pigs in Mark 5:13 may function to provide similar evidence.[31]

Apollonius is not described as performing any exorcisms but does identify and drive off malignant spirits (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 2.4; 4.25). In one account, "the phantom pretended

[30] See the survey in Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 22–47.

[31] Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 430–31; Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, 89; Gundry, *Mark*, 252; Collins, *Mark*, 271.

to weep and prayed him not to torture her nor to compel her to confess what she really was" (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.25).[32] This parallels the demons' fear and begging in Mark 1:24; 5:7.

Josephus recounts how Solomon was a powerful exorcist who drove demons out "never to return". Solomon left behind "forms of exorcisms with which those possessed by demons drive them out" (Jospehus, *Ant.* 8.44-45).[33] He then goes on to describe one such exorcism by Eleazar who, by use of a ring containing special roots, draws a demon out through the nose of a man who then falls down. Eleazar adjures the demon not to return "speaking Solomon's name and reciting the incantations which he had composed" (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.46-49).[34]

For many Jews and Greeks in antiquity exorcism was primarily a form of healing, that is, it was not associated with any specific cosmology or eschatological expectation (1 Sam 16:14-23; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.116-69; LAB 60; Tobit 6).[35] In the rabbinic literature, Ḥanina ben Dosa's encounter with the demon queen Agrath (*b. Pesaḥ.* 112b) and Simeon ben Yose's exorcism of Ben Temalion (*b. Me'il.* 17b) feature confrontations with evil spirits which have no eschatological significance.[36] *Genesis Apocryphon* 20, where Abraham delivers Abimelech from a pestilential spirit provides another example of an evil spirit without eschatological significance.[37] The evil spirit is sent by God, not Satan, and it is not personal, there is no speech interaction with the spirit.[38]

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[32] See also discussion in Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 25–27.

[33] "Neither the deeds nor the words or the ascription of authority used in A.J. has any equivalent in the exorcism performed by the historical Jesus [i.e. in the Gospel accounts]." So, Nyström, 'Jesus' Exorcistic Identity Reconsidered', 91.

[34] Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 36.

[35] Richard A. Horsley, Jesus and Magic: Freeing the Gospel Stories from Modern Misconceptions (Eugene, Or.: Cascade, 2014), 9–10; Cotter, Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity, 84, 97.

[36] For discussion see Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 22–23.

[37] The Genesis Apocryphon and the Dead Sea Scrolls in general (e.g. 1QM 14.5-10) do not consider the driving out of evil spirits/Satan to be a prelude to God's eschatological rule of righteousness nor do they make a connection between the practice of exorcism and the defeat of Satan. See Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 44–45.

[38] Meier (*A Marginal Jew*, 589) notes that 'the Genesis Apocryphon is the first instance in Jewish literature in which the laying on of hands is used for healing.' However, he also notes that the laying on of hands is not characteristic of Jesus' exorcisms.

In Mark, however, the exorcisms both relate to a dualistic cosmology where Satan is the primary power behind the evil spirits (3:22-23) and connect to an eschatological expectation of judgement for evil (1:24; 5:7; cf. 1 Enoch 55:4).[39] This renders Mark's exorcism accounts an unprecedented hybrid between eschatological evil spirits (serving Satan, offspring of fallen angels, destined for destruction) like those of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, for example, and traditional exorcisms (healing/deliverance of afflicted individuals) like those recounted in 1 Sam 16:14-23 and Tobit 6, for example.[40]

The two exorcisms in Acts 16:16-24 and 19:11-20 appear to lose the apocalyptic elements of the Gospel exorcisms. There are no indications of a connection to Satan or of the evil spirits fearing destruction. Acts 19:11-20 features an overpoweringly strong demoniac who has spiritual knowledge of Jesus and Paul. This is similar to Mark 5:4, in terms of physical strength, and 5:7, in terms of knowledge. In Acts 16:16-24 the slave girl's spirit is not explicitly identified as evil and is not apparently harmful to the girl. Furthermore, the spirit identifies Paul and his companions without making reference to Jesus. Significantly, in both stories the name of Jesus is the "source of power-authority" for the exorcists.[41]

Almost all the features of Markan exorcisms find a place within the conventional stories of holy men healing those afflicted by spirits. Only Mark's explicitly eschatological features do not fit, and these probably relate to the same Jewish traditions preserved in 1 Enoch and Jubilees.[42] Mark 5:1-20 makes sense in its first-century context as a healing narrative. However, when read against certain Jewish scriptures some features of Mark 5:1-20 take on special significance both in relation to those scriptures and in relation to Mark's Gospel as a whole.

[39] Gundry, *Mark*, 75.

[40] On this see Twelftree (*Jesus the Exorcist*, 217–24) who argues this and that this connection between exorcism and eschatology can be traced back to the historical Jesus.

[41] Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 34.

[42] This connection will be elaborated upon below, in §4.8.

### §4.3 Isaiah 65:3-5 (LXX)

Perhaps the most cited background scripture for Mark 5:1-20 is Isa 65:3-5.[43] Donahue and Harrington argue that the rebellious Israelites of Isaiah 65 "sacrifice on the hills (65:7, 11) to gods who are demons (65:3), sleep in tombs . . . , and eat swine's flesh. Though the situations are different . . . the similarity is that for both Isaiah and Mark spending nights in the mountain tombs is a sign of pagan behaviour."[44] In the same vein Watts writes,

> It is most probably this linking of idols, demons, and pigs in the ancient world that forms the backdrop of the Markan account and which, along with the tomb dwelling, suggests that he uses Isaiah 65 as the horizon for his story thereby linking the powerful forces of 'Legion' with typical images of anti-idol polemic such that Jesus' victory over the demonic host corresponds to the end of the idols' power.[45]

However, Mark shows no interest in paganism or idol worship.[46] Neither does the gospel link demons or demonisation with idol worship or paganism at any other point. To say that false gods are demons (LXX Lev 17:7; Deut 32:16-17; Ps 95:5; cf. 1 Cor 10:20) is not the same as saying all demons are pagan gods or that all demonised people are idolaters. Indeed, in both Early Jewish and Greco-Roman literature the word demon (i.e. δαιμόνιον and its cognates) could refer to a wide range of spiritual beings.[47] This is illustrated by Josephus, who at different points uses δαιμόνιον for deity, divine power, destiny, bad luck, evil spirits, and good spirits (Josephus *J.W.* 1.69; 1.233; 1.613; 7.182; *Ant.* 8.44-45; 16.20).[48]

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[43] E.g., Franz Annen, *Heil für die Heiden* (Frankfurt: Jospeh Knecht, 1976), 182–84; Derrett, 'Contributions', 9–10; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 137–43; Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 15–16; Garland, *Mark*, 207–8; Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*, 157–64; Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 72; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 348; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 203; Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 143; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.286; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.203-204.

[44] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 164.

[45] Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*, 159.

[46] Matthias Klinghardt, 'Legionsschweine in Gerasa: Lokalkolorit und historischer Hintergrund von Mk 5,1–20', *ZNW* 98 (2007): 43.

[47] See e.g. Homer, *The Iliad* 1.222; Plato, *Cratylus* 398 b; *Symposium*, 202d-e; Plutarch, *Def. orac. 417, 419;* Josephus, *J.W.* 1.69, 613; 7.185; *Ag. Ap.* 2.263; Philo, *Good Person* 130; *Gig.* 16; LXX Ps 90:6; LXX Isa 13:21; 34:14; 65:11.

[48] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 96.

For Greeks generally, a δαιμόνιον was a spirit or minor divinity of benign or neutral character.[49] The adoption of the same word by the LXX to denote foreign gods introduced a negative connotation to the word.[50] In early Judaism the type of demons who would be idolatrously worshipped were specifically territorial spiritual powers (Deut 32:8, 17; Ps 106:37; Sir 17:17).[51] Importantly, it is against idolaters that the polemic of Isaiah 65 is directed. We see this same use of the word demon in the NT in 1 Corinthians 10:20-21 where idolatry is also the concern.

Some readings of Mark 5:1-20 thus interpret Legion, especially with his request not to be sent out of the country (5:10), as such a territorial spirit. Jesus' exorcism is thus a defeat of the territorial gentile gods.[52] However, the evil spirits that possess individual people depicted in the Gospels are conceptually different from territorial spiritual powers.[53] The problem posed by demons in the Gospels is not idolatry but possession. This is manifested in seizures, self-harm, mental instability, and social isolation. The possessed in Mark do not need to be rebuked but delivered.

We thus encounter a distinct third usage of the word demon for a spirit which afflicts an individual. For Ken Frieden this use in the Gospels of *demon* to denote independent evil spirits is "a substantial linguistic and theological novelty."[54] This is an overstatement, the demon/evil spirit in Tobit being one obvious counter example.[55] Yet the distinction between

[49] See entires on 'δαιμονίον' in BDAG, 210; LSJ, 365; GE, 450; also Ken Frieden, 'The Language of Demonic Possession: A Key Word Analysis', in *The Daemonic Imagination: Biblical Text and Secular Story*, ed. Robert Detweiler and William G. Doty, AAR Studies in Religion 60 (Atlanta, Ga.; Scholars Press, 1990), 44.

[50] Frieden, 'The Language of Demonic Possession', 45.

[51] Dale Martin, 'When Did Angels Become Demons?', *JBL* 129 (2010): 657–77, 667.

[52] Derrett, 'Contributions', 9–10; Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 14; Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 72; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 378.

[53] Archie Wright, 'The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels', in *Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels: Reminiscences, Allusions, Intertextuality*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Gabriele Boccaccini (Atlanta, Geo.: SBL, 2016), 231.

[54] Frieden, 'The Language of Demonic Possession', 45.

[55] Tobit 3:8, 17; 6:8, 15, 16, 17; 8:3.

demons as foreign gods (as in the LXX and 1 Cor 10:20) and demons as individual afflicting evil spirits (Tobit, Gospels) remains a valid and important one.

Thus the connection of Isa 65:3-5 to Mark 5:1-20 via δαιμόνιον is potentially misleading, as the same word is able to refer to substantially different entities depending on context.[56] Despite Mark 5:10, there is no indication that Mark considers these demons to be spiritual powers over a particular territory. Their influence and presence is restricted to the single tormented individual. There is no suggestion that these demons are the recipients of worship by the demoniac or the local population. The narrative presents the demoniac as someone in need of healing and deliverance. He is not presented as a pagan who needs to repent of idolatry.

Regardless of the semantic range of δαιμόνιον, a reader of the LXX of Isa 65:3 should note that those sacrifices are made to demons *that do not exist* (τοῖς δαιμονίοις ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν). By contrast the demons in Mark's narrative are very real, as evidenced both by the man's supernatural strength and the behaviour of the pigs. Why would Mark reference a scripture that denies the existence of demons when he is trying to reveal how much stronger is Jesus than those demons? The demonologies of each passage are not only different, they serve contradictory rhetorical purposes.

There is no indication that the demoniac has eaten the swine and brought the demon possession upon himself.[57] This is evident from the absence of the swine in the description of the demoniac. He is not associated with them, rather they are described as happening to be there later in the story, when they become relevant to it (Mark 5:11). They are not mentioned earlier because they were not relevant to the man's condition. Anyway, Mark does not consider any food unclean (Mark 7:19). If the demons had entered the man through eating unclean pork would not other pig-eaters in the vicinity be similarly afflicted? There is no hint of demon possession in LXX Isa 65:3-5, rather it is a description of deliberate and hypocritical idolaters of whom God goes on to say, "I will repay their works into their bosom" (ἀποδώσω τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν, Isa 65:7). Yet the demoniac in Mark 5:1-20

[56] The reader is referred to Dale Martin's impressive and convincing study of the divergent uses and meanings of 'demon' in Greco-Roman and Jewish traditions and the development of Christian demonology in and after the New Testament, 'When Did Angels Become Demons?'

[57] As noted by Stein, *Mark*, 253.

does not receive judgement but mercy (5:19) and it is the demons who receive repayment for their evil (5:13).

The lexical links between the passages are also slight. LXX Isa 65:3 has δαιμόνιον while Mark 5:2, 8 use πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. Isa 65:4 has κρέα ὕεια for pig's flesh, while Mark 5:11 uses χοῖρος for pig. Mountain, ὄρος (Mark 5:11), occurs later in the Isaiah passage (Isa 65:7). The only exact lexical correspondence is μνῆμα (Isa 65:4; Mark 5:3, 5). Most significantly, regardless of the semantic correspondence, there is no narrative correspondence between Mark 5:1-20 and Isa 65:3-5. In Mark's account the demons are not worshipped. They are very real. And the pigs are uneaten. So the shared references to tombs, swine, mountains and demons in Isa 65:3-5 are best considered coincidental.

### §4.4 Psalm 68:6

A second commonly suggested referent is Ps 68:6,[58] the LXX (67:7) of which reads,

| | |
|---|---|
| ὁ θεὸς κατοικίζει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ ἐξάγων πεπεδημένους ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ ὁμοίως τοὺς παραπικραίνοντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τάφοις. | God settles the lonely in a house, leading out in manly-dignity those who had been shackled, likewise [he leads out] those who provoke the tomb dwellers. (Author's Trans.) |

As well as the verb forms of two of the identified *hapax* nouns (κατοικίζει for κατοίκησις; πεδάω for πέδη), this verse also contains a reference to people living in tombs (τάφος). These three points of contact in this Davidic psalm about the victorious warrior God are highly suggestive. The demoniac is sent to his home (Mark 5:19). Instead of shackles he has his dignity restored (Mark 5:4, 15). The final clause, though difficult to translate,[59] at the very least refers to graves/tombs. Also Eph 4:8 shows a different Christological application of this psalm, quoting Ps 68:18 (LXX 67:19), "When he ascended on high he made captivity itself a captive; he gave gifts to his people." This suggests Psalm 68 was a locus of messianic interpretation in the early Christian tradition. Thus it is entirely possible that this Psalm is in

[58] Derrett, 'Contributions', 9; Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*, 167; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 348; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 203.

[59] There is presumably some semantic overlap between the LXX παραπικραίνω and the MT סָרַר around the idea of stubbornness or resistance. Apart from that the two versions of the clause are irreconcilable.

the background of Mark 5:1-20.[60] If so this would be another instance of Jesus enacting scriptural narratives in the place of God.

Additionally, Watts observes that Ps 68:11 (LXX 67:12) is one of the "religious" uses of εὐαγγελίζω in the LXX and in a psalm that describes the scattering of YHWH's enemies and the mighty acts of the Exodus.[61] Thus in Ps 68:11 the more pastoral motif of rescuing and restoring the lonely is coupled with the salvation historical motif of the conquering creator God. Likewise, Mark 5:1-20 shows Jesus both caring for and restoring the demoniac while at the same time triumphing over the eschatological forces of evil.[62]

Psalm 68:6 creates a meaningful scriptural echo with Mark 5:1-20, but does not correlate strongly enough to suggest an authorial allusion.

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[60] Stein wrongly discounts the influence of LXX Ps 67:7 based on different words for 'tomb' and the lack of references to 'fetters'. For the former, the fluidity of the textual traditions and the semantic overlap vitiate his objection. For the latter he has failed to recognise πεδάω as the verb form of 'fetter', Stein, *Mark*, 251.

[61] Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*, 167–68.

[62] A second possible background from the Psalms has been suggested by Paul Owen ('Jesus as God's Chief Agent in Mark's Christology', in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honour of Larry W. Hurtado*, ed. Chris Keith and Dieter T. Roth, LNTS 528 [London: Bloomsbury, 2015], 40–57). He begins with the use of Psalm 82 in John 10:33-36 and in a plausible analysis concludes that because in John's Gospel Jesus is the judge of the earth (John 5:22-23; 9:39), the intended implication in John 10:33-36 is that Ps 82:8, 'Arise O God and judge the earth,' is God the Father's address to Jesus. He then makes the novel suggestion that Mark 5:1-20 reflects Psalm 82, because, 1) the title 'Son of the Most High God' (Mark 5:7) reflects Ps 82:6 'sons of the Most High.' This is the only combination of son and most high in the OT. 2) The demon's self-description, 'we are many' (Mark 5:9) reflects the group of gods 'all of you' (Ps 82:6). This connection is supported by 11Q13 2:12 which identifies the group in Ps 82 as Belial and his spirits. 3) The request not to be tormented (Mark 5:7) implies Jesus' authority to judge reflecting Ps 82:8. 4) Ps 82:7 warns the gods that they will die and the demons in Mark 5:1-20 drown in the sea. 5) The sea or abyss 'is the location of judged spirits in numerous Jewish and Christian texts', so for Owen the demons' death in the sea in Mark evokes 'mythical undertones'. 6) 4Q246 refers to a Davidic messiah 'son of the Most High' (2:1) and then later states that 'he is a great god among the gods' (2:7). This language, Owen argues, is derived from Ps 82:6. Owen's thesis is intriguing but not well supported. The correspondences he adduces are all weak and lack any compelling reason to connect Psalm 82 and Mark 5:1-20 in the first place.

### §4.5 Samson

Aus argues "[Mark] applies motifs and expressions from the positive presentation of Samson in Judaic tradition to the negative figure of a madman, a demoniac."[63] (p.19) He lists seven points of contact between Mark 5:1-20 and the biblical story of Sampson.

1) Tombs were often caves. Samson dwelt (ישב) in a cave (Judges 15:8) and the demoniac has his dwelling in the tombs (κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν, Mark 5:3) (pp.22-23)
2) "Unclean spirit" (Mark 5:2) connects with Samson's corpse uncleanness from combat (pp.24-25)
3) Super strength and snapping chains (Mark 5:3-4) links to Samson's strength and bond snapping, also linked by διασπάω (LXX Judg A14:6 x2, 16:9, 16:12) (pp.25-30)
4) Shouting, running and meeting (Mark 5:7, LXX Judg 15:14) (pp.30-32)
5) Adjuring not to kill (Mark 5:7, Judg 15:12, Josephus *Ant* 5:299); Josephus' account of Samson and Mark 5:7 linked by ὁρκίζω (pp.33-36)
6) The question "what is your name?" (Mark 5:9, Judges 13:17) (pp.36-39)
7) Aus connects "Legion", a loan word in Hebrew and Aramaic by the time of Christ, to Samson. He notes that the Tosefta,[64] in its commentary on *m. Sot.* 1:7-8,[65] lists Biblical characters who sinned and suffered apposite punishments. In particular *t. Sot.* 3:13-15 lists how Pharoah's chariots and hosts are cast into the sea (3:13), then "Legions" of stars fought against Sisera by divine command (3:14), and how Samson has his eyes put out for his lust (3:15) (p.40-41). For Aus this generates an "intimate association" (p.68) between the word *legion*, Samson and the destruction of Pharoah's army in the Red Sea.

[63] Aus, *My Name Is Legion,* 3–100. In the next two sections, which interact with Aus' work, page numbers in brackets in the text refer to this work.

[64] The Tosefta 'was probably published about one generation after Mishna (220-230 C.E.), though some, such as Jacob Neusner, have argued for a later date (e.g., 300 C.E.).' Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2005), 224.

[65] See Jacob Neusner, *The Tosefta,* vol. 3 (Hoboken, New Jersey: Scholars Press, 1977), 157–58.

There is clearly some correspondence between the Samson story and Mark 5:1-20. In particular the links with Judges 15 are striking (#1, 3, 4, 5). However, even with those other links taken into account, the remaining suggestions are not convincing.

Aus focuses on corpse uncleanness from Samson's battles (#2) but does not mention Samson's uncleanness from eating honey out of a lion carcass (Judg 14:8-9) or from touching a donkey's jawbone (15:15), or even feasting with Philistines (14:10-17). However, the fact that the Spirit of God continues to empower him despite those ceremonial infractions demonstrates that the Judges narrative is disinterested in ceremonial uncleanness. While Mark describes demons as "unclean spirits", he does not do so to describe the effect they have on the people they inhabit but as a way of identifying their essential nature as opposed to the Holy Spirit (e.g. Mark 1:8, 10). Indeed, Mark's Jesus will go on to deny external causes of spiritual uncleanness (Mark 7:1-23).

The connection (#6) between Manoah's question to the angel of the Lord (Judg 13:17) and Jesus' question to the demon (Mark 5:9) is simply not apparent. If Judges 15 is being referred to in this episode why would Manoah's question from Samson's nativity in Judges 13 appear here? If we follow the connection this far, and accept that the demoniac is Samson, why would Mark also cast the demon as the angel of the Lord? This suggestion implies the utmost indifference to any coherence between the literary correspondence and real correspondence on the part of Mark's author.

Finally, Aus's argument largely depends on a supposed "intimate association" in Rabbinic thought between Samson, Legion and the drowning of the Egyptians (#7). Appearing next to each other in a roughly chronological list simply does not establish any such connection. This is quite apart from any possible discussion of whether a single third or fourth century text gives sufficient evidence of first-century Jewish traditions that could have influenced Mark, which it surely does not. As Aus points out, "legion" is a loan word in common use by the time of Christ,[66] so its use in the *Tosefta* has no necessary significance. Aside from their proximity in the list of *t. Sot.* 3:13-15 there is no conceptual connection established by Aus between Legion and Samson. On the contrary, the star legion in *t. Sot.* 3:14 is God's instrument of punishment on Sisera, but in *t. Sot.* 3:15 Samson is the one being punished by God. Why then, if that is really the "intimate association" between them, would they be conflated as both legion-demon and Samson-demon in Mark 5:1-20? If Mark were following

[66] See also Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 166; Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 76–77.

this tradition then Jesus himself would need to be the "legion" in order to punish the demonic Samson. Simply, such a connection is incoherent in regard to both the theology and narrative of either of the two texts.

Aus argues that Mark 5:1-20 is "based on" Judges 15 because of "Samson's great popularity [in Palestinian haggadic traditions]" (p21). Yet the very popularity of Samson would suggest that he is unlikely to be figured as a demon-possessed madman in Mark. Despite his evident moral failings, he was a saviour and anointed servant of God. In Christian typological thought he would naturally correspond to Jesus not the demoniac.[67]

Despite the weakness of several of Aus' points there does remain a striking correspondence between Judges 15 and Mark 5:1-20. Such correspondence is best viewed either as borrowing language from Judges 15 to describe similar events or sharing common features by coincidence. But Mark gives no signal that the story of Samson should be hermeneutically determinative for reading Mark 5:1-20.

### §4.6 Exodus

Aus' second suggestion also requires consideration: "The Lord's victory alone at the Reed Sea over the Egyptian Pharaoh and his [army] . . . causing them to drown in that Sea, provides the major background to the term 'Legion' in Mark 5:9 and 15, and to the drowning of the large herd of swine in the Sea of Galilee" (p.42).[68] He finds five points of connection between Mark 5:1-20 and Exodus 13-15.

[67] Irenaeus, *Fragments*, XXVII, is a solitary early example of this but the connection is more enthusiastically made, although not without reservation, from the 4th century onwards, e.g. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns*, 13.4; *Hymns on Paradise* 13.12.13; Augustine, *Reply to Faustus*, XII §32; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons* 118-120; Gregory the Great, *Forty Gospel Homilies*, 21. I would suggest that Samson's flagrant sexual sin made him a less popular candidate than (the equally sinful but apparently chaste) Jonah for typology among the early church, see e.g. 2 Clement IX.

[68] Aus is also followed in his Exodus interpretation by Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 15; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 143–45.

1. *Egyptians characterised as swine and Pharoah as swineherd* (pp.45-47). Drawing primarily on the 4th century *Exod. Rab.* Bashallah 20/1 on Ex 13:17[69] where Pharaoh is parabolically compared to a swine herd and Israel a lamb trapped in the herd of pigs (p.47), Aus argues that "in Judaic thought the Egyptians were characterised as swine, and it was they who all drowned after rushing down from the cliffs into the Reed Sea (Exod 15:4)." (p.83)
2. *Panicking by rushing down a steep slope and drowning* (p.48-54). In Josephus, *Ant* 2.340-44, the Egyptians rush (ὁρμάω) after the Israelites and perish in the sea (p.49). Aus cites Philo (*Mos.* 2.254) where the Egyptians rush on pursuing the Israelites to their destruction. But Aus does not appear to realise ἐφόρμησις is a compound of ὁρμάω and ἐπι which only strengthens the connection (p.49). Josephus (*Ant* 2.324) also refers to κρημνοί (cliffs) which Aus connects with Mark 5:13 (p.52), however, Josephus' cliffs are used by the Egyptians to trap the Hebrews and are not associated with the destruction of the Egyptian army.
3. *Survival of only one, who then proclaims the miracle elsewhere* (p.54-59). Aus recounts an 8-9th century Jewish tradition (*Pirq. R. El.* 43) that Pharoah was the lone survivor of the drowning of his armies, who then travels to Ninevah, becomes king there, and leads his city in repentance at Jonah's preaching (p.56-58). For Aus, the motif of the healed demoniac going into the Decapolis to preach "derives from Judaic tradition on Pharoah as the only Egyptian who survived the drowning of the Egyptians in the Reed Sea" (p.84).
4. *Begging someone to leave land out of fear* (Exod 11:18; 12:33, Mark 5:10, 12, 15, 17, 18) (p.59-63). Again Aus observes a lexical connection with Josephus' account of the event in Exodus (*Ant* 2:310, παρακαλεω, cf. Mark 5:17; p.61).
5. *"About two thousand"* (p.63-67). Aus argues the number of pigs in Mark 5:13 is too large to be literal and so must be symbolic, the large number generated by the use of the word "legions" (p.64). However a full Roman legion numbered over 6000, so it is not clear why the symbolic number should be so small.

Again, a number of the connections are striking (#1, 2, 4). In particular the connections where Josephus and Philo use similar terms (ὁρμάω, κρημνοί, παρακαλεω) are suggestive of a common first-century Exodus tradition. The connection between Pharaoh and the healed

[69] See M. Mirqin, *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 5 (Tel Aviv: Yavneh, 1981), 232–33; or H. Freeman and M. Simon, eds., *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 3 (London: Soncino, 1939), 241–42.

demoniac (#3) is too tenuous as it is based on late material only. Furthermore, the demoniac is not the only survivor of the incident who lives to tell the tale. Mark 5:14 recounts an unspecified number of pig herders who survive and announce the events, which weakens the correpsondence.

Notwithstanding, it seems plausible that the pigs could allude to the army of the Egyptians, if we accept the other connection (#5), as the number two thousand easily evokes a large army.[70] More to the point, this scriptural reference makes a great deal more sense than Samson on a narrative level. Here the demons/swine correspond to the Egyptian oppressors of God's people, while Jesus is Moses or God sending the opposing army to a watery grave. France suggests the demons would not have been killed by the water, just rendered homeless by the death of the pigs.[71] However, if Exodus 13-15 is a referent of Mark 5:1-20 then it would seem more likely that the demons' destruction is implied.[72] It is, then, a story of Jesus vanquishing God's eschatological enemies and the deliverance of God's new covenant people among the Gentiles.

Joel Marcus also considers Exodus 14-15 to be background to the episode. In contrast to Aus, his analysis is based on the wording of the LXX, demonstrating lexical overlap at several points.[73]

[70] See also Ched Myers, *Binding the Strong Man: A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus* (Maryknoll, N.Y. Orbis Books, 2008), 191 who discusses the presence of military terminology and the rush of pigs evoking a charge into battle.

[71] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 231; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 218.

[72] '[T]he plunge of the pigs into the sea is a figure of the fall of the rebellious spirits into the abyss.' Starobinski, 'The Struggle with Legion', 339; also Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 199.

[73] The following table is slightly modified from Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 349.

Table: Marcus' comparison of Exodus 14-15 and Mark 5:1-20

| # | Mark 5:1-20 | Ex 14-15 |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 5:1, They came to the other side of the sea (θάλασσα) | 14:22 Israelites pass through the sea (θάλασσα) |
| 2 | 5:3-4, No one had been able (δύναμαι) to tie him up; no one had the power (ἰσχύω) to subdue him | 14:28; 15:4 the power (δύναμις) of Pharoah is destroyed<br>15:6 The power (ἰσχύς) of God is glorified<br>15:13 God's power (ἰσχύς) guides his people |
| 3 | 5:7, "Son of the Most High God (τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου)" | 15:2 "This is . . . my father's God . . . and I will exalt (ὑψώσω) him." |
| 4 | 5:13, The pigs . . . choked to death in the sea | 14:28-30; 15:19, The Egyptians are drowned |
| 5 | 5:14, Those who had been grazing the pigs ran away (ἔφυγον) | 14:27, the Egyptians ran away (ἔφυγον) |
| 6 | 5:15, 17, And they were afraid (φοβέομαι) | 15:16 Let fear (φόβος) and trembling fall upon them |
| 7 | 5:19, Go . . . announce (ἀναγγέλλω). . . | 9:16, "For this reason I have kept you alive . . . in order that my name might be announced (διαγγέλλω) in all the Earth" |
| 8 | 5:19, . . . what great things the Lord has done for you (ὅσα σοι ὁ κύριος πεποίηκεν) | 14:31, Israel saw the great hand, the things that the Lord had done (ἃ ἐποίησεν κύριος) to the Egyptians |

#1 connects the two perilous sea crossings, but the use of θάλασσα is too generic to be a conclusive link. The destruction of the enemy in the sea provides the strongest narrative coherence (#4) but has no lexical links. #8, despite being somewhat generic, is helpful in setting Mark 5:19 in the biblical tradition of celebrating the mighty salvation historical deeds of God. The remaining lexical links have no narrative coherence (#2, 3, 5, 6 & 7) and are such generic terms we could find similar parallels in many places.[74] The lexical links Marcus provides do not show a consistent use of the Exodus 14-15 narrative in Mark 5:1-20.

Marcus argues "the most pervasive echoes" of scripture in Mark 5:1-20 are from Exodus 14-15.[75] While I agree that the correlation of the pigs drowning with the Egyptians is both exegetically tenable and hermeneutically satisfying,[76] there are stronger candidates for the

[74] Marcus' own exegesis (*Mark 1-8*, 343) weakens the distinctiveness of #2 here as he rightly observes that ἰσχύω connects this passage to Mark 3:27 and 'the Strong Man', ἰσχυρός.

[75] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 348.

[76] Marcus (*Mark 1-8*, 348) writes that the passage 'seems to cast Jesus in a Moses-like role as an incomparable conduit of divine power, while at the same time hinting at an extension of the divine sovereignty beyond the Israel that Moses founded.'

background to the episode as a whole. Accepting Exodus 13-15 as a referent of Mark 5:11-13, the majority of Mark 5:1-20 still remains to be discussed.[77]

### §4.7 Nahum 1

J Duncan M Derrett argues that Nahum 1 provides a "blue-print" for Mark 5:1-20.[78] While this suggestion has not been followed by later commentators it is included here for completeness.

Table: Nahum 1 and Mark 4-5 Plot Correspondence

| Nahum | | Mark | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1:3 | His way is in whirlwind and storm (MT: בסופה ובשערה דרכו, LXX: ἐν συντελείᾳ καὶ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ) | 4:37 | Jesus' route to the demoniac through wind and storm |
| 1:4 | He rebukes the sea and makes it dry . . . LXX: ἀπειλῶν (Aquila, Symmachus: ἐπετίμων) θαλάσσῃ καὶ ξηραίνων αὐτὴν | 4:39 | Jesus rebukes (ἐπιτιμάω) to the wind |
| 1:11 | From you one has gone out who plots evil against the LORD, one who counsels wickedness (בליעל). | 5:2 | Legion comes out against Jesus |
| 1:12 | Thus says the LORD, "Though they are at full strength and many, they will be cut off and pass away. Though I have afflicted you, I will afflict you no more. | 5:7, 5:9 | Don't torment (afflict) me, ''we are many", merging of identity between one and many |
| | LXX: τάδε λέγει κύριος κατάρχων ὑδάτων πολλῶν (the Lord who rules over many waters) καὶ οὕτως διασταλήσονται (thus they will receive strict orders) καὶ ἡ ἀκοή σου οὐκ ἐνακουσθήσεται ἔτι | 4:41, 5:8, 13 | Jesus having already commanded the wind and waves now gives strict orders to the demons. |
| 1:13 | And now I will break off his yoke from you and snap the bonds (δεσμός) that bind you." | 5:4, 15 | Breaking of Satan's yoke on the man. Snapping of both literal fetters and chains, by the demoniac, and figurative ones, by Jesus. |
| 1:14 | . . . I will make your grave, for you are worthless." (LXX: χωνευτά θήσομαι ταφήν σου ὅτι ταχεῖς, "I will make your grave because of the quick ones.") | 5:13 | Jesus makes the grave for the demons through the rushing (quick) pigs. |
| 1:15 | Look! On the mountains the feet of one who brings good tidings (εὐαγγελίζομαι), who proclaims (ἀπαγγέλλω) peace! . . . for never again shall the wicked invade you; they are utterly cut off. | 5:19 | Jesus commands the demoniac to announce (ἀπαγγέλλω) his deliverance. No more demonic invasions for him! |

[77] For an earlier discussion of this scriptural parallel see Derrett, 'Contributions', 6–8.

[78] Derrett, 'Contributions', 10–12.

As Derrett observes, Nahum is not a significant NT referent. However, 4Q169 provides evidence that Nahum 1 was understood both to be messianic and as indicating the total destruction of Romans and Greeks. Additionally Derrett sees the reference to Egypt in Nah 3:8-10 as providing a midrashic basis for the conflation of Nahum 1 and the drowning of the Egyptians in Exodus 14 within Mark 5:1-20.

However, Derrett's analysis does not maintain the integrity of Nahum's first chapter. The textual gaps between the verses he cites are significant. The appearance of narrative coherence projected by a selective table like the one above is deceptive. If this passage really was the "blue-print" for Mark 5:1-20 we would expect stronger lexical parallels or more concrete allusions. The connections adduced are too vague and indirect to be convincing.

### §4.8 Giants

Both the story of Samson and of Jonah contain what can be termed "giantesque imagery."[79] In Jonah it is marked by the frequent use of the word *great*, (גדול / μέγας).[80] In Judges it is Samson's outsized strength and destructive power. In Mark 5:1-20 the possibly Jonah inspired usage of μέγας in Mark 4:35-41 (vs 37, 39, 41) continues into this new episode (5:7, 11). The demoniac's great voice, the huge herd of pigs, and the demoniac's Samson-like strength all evoke the giantesque.[81]

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[79] Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit, and Tremper Longman III, *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 2010), 329; Hyn Chul Paul Kim, 'Jonah Read Intertextually', *JBL* 126 (2007): 500.

[80] Jonah 1:2, 4, 10, 12, 16; 2:1; 3:2, 3, 5; 4:1, 6, 11. It is also fun to note that Jonah is "cast out" (ἐκβάλλω) of the fish, after the Lord speaks to it (2:10, LXX 2:11), an exorcism of sorts! If Mark is thinking of this when he puts the two miracle episodes together (Mark 4:35-41 = Jonah 1, Mark 5:1-20 = Jonah 2:10) then he is a comedy genius too subtle for biblical scholarship to confidently detect. Which is of course no argument against it.

[81] Even the possible geographical setting of Kursi evokes giants. The Samakh Valley, where Kursi is situated, is "wide, rectangular, steep, and closed at the back to the east. It looks like a giant armchair, which is probably the origin of its name – Kursi (Kursa), meaning 'armchair' in Semitic languages." So, M. Nun, *Gergesa (Kursi): Site of a Miracle, Church and Fishing Village*, (En Gev: Kibbutz En Gev, 1989), 4. Cited in Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 73–74.

In some Jewish traditions evil spirits were connected with the Nephilim (Gen 6:1-4; 1 Enoch 6-11; 15:3-4; Jub 7:21; 10:1; *T. Sol* 5:2-3).[82] The "sons of God" (Watchers) "went in" to human women (Gen 6:4) and the resultant offspring, the Nephilim, were גברים – mighty men or, in the LXX, γίγαντες – giants.[83] According to the *Book of Watchers* (1 Enoch 1-31), when these giants drowned in the flood, or were otherwise killed, their bodies were destroyed but their spirits continued. As an unholy mix of angelic and human parentage, these were unclean spirits, which would desire new homes in the bodies of others. So according to this tradition, the evil spirits of the Gospels and the Nephilim giants were the same entities in different forms. Evil spirits were just dead giants looking for a warm body to call home.[84]

The connection between this Watcher tradition and Mark 5:1-20 has received considerable attention in recent articles by Nicholas Elder (2016), Thierry Murcia (2016), and Hans Moscicke (2019).[85] Several correspondences are asserted.

1) *Mark's use of "unclean spirit" rather than "demon."* Elder argues Mark is recalling Enoch and the uncleanness of the Watchers due to their boundary-breaking sexual relationships with human women.[86]
2) *The evil spirits' recognition of Jesus as "Son of the Most High God"*. The Book of Watchers depicts previous mediatorial figures binding and destroying

[82] Collins, *Mark*, 167–68.

[83] A fascinating exception to this view in Second Temple Judaism is presented by Philo for whom the giants of Gen 6:1-4 were our internal earthly desires, but human beings were heavenly spirits trapped in fleshly bodies. This hard anthropological dualism, of course, results from his incorporation of certain strands of Greek philosophy. See Archie Wright, 'Some Observations of Philo's *De Gigantibus* and Evil Spirits in Second Temple Judaism', *JSJ* 36 (2005): 471–88.

[84] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 431.

[85] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits'; Thierry Murcia, 'La question du fond historique des récits évangéliques. Deux guérisons un jour de Kippour: l'hémorroïsse et la résurrection de la fille de Jaïre et le possédé de Gérasa/Gadara', *Judaïsme Ancien* 4 (2016): 123–64; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers'.

[86] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 434–36; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 365. Alternatively Wright ('The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels', 235 n74) considers the uncleanness of the spirits to stem from their drinking of blood (1 Enoch 7:5). This does not vitiate Elder's suggestion. The Nephilim's uncleanness could be multifaceted.

nephilim/giants/unclean spirits and the spirits awaiting a final eschatological judgement. Therefore the evil spirits recognise Jesus as such a figure. "Most High" is used as a title for YHWH in 1 Enoch 9:4 and, 10:1.[87]

3) *The significance of the demoniac's dwelling in tombs*. κατοίκησις is used four times in 1 Enoch 15:7-10 (cf. Mark 5:3). In 1 Enoch 10:5 YHWH has Asael sent to the desert of Dadouel, to dwell (οίκησάτω) and wait for a "resurrection to judgment."[88]
4) *Sharp Stones.* YHWH also commands rough and sharp rocks (λίθους τραχείς καί οξείς) to be placed on Asael which may have influenced the sharp stones the Demoniac cuts himself with in Mark 5:5 (κατακόπτων έαυτὸν λίθοις).[89]
5) *The theme of swearing on a mountain.* In 1 Enoch 6 the Watchers swear to bind themselves to all commit the sin of taking wives and having children on Mount Hermon. This may explain why in Mark 5:1-20 the demon and not the exorcist is the one adjuring.[90]
6) *The theme of binding*. In answer to the puzzle of Mark's uncharacteristically detailed description of the demoniac, Elder suggests the emphasis on *binding* in the *Book of Watchers* has influenced Mark 5:1-20. YHWH's first word concerning the Watchers' sin in 1 Enoch 10:4 is δήσον ("bind"). In 10:11-13, YHWH commands the binding of the Watchers for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, where they will await final and eternal judgment. The terms κατοίκησιν, ἅλυσις, πέδη, διασπάν, and δαμάζειν are all associated with binding and are also found in 1 Enoch 1-31.[91] I would suggest a closer, and complementary, parallel is Jubiliees 10:7-9 where after the flood nine-tenths of the evil spirits are bound in order to protect the living, while a tenth remain unbound to help Satan in his work (see also *T. Sol.* 5:6).

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[87] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 438–39; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 365. Here Collins (*Mark*, 213–14, 268) makes a similar point, that the demoniac's words betray special knowledge available to spirits but not humans.

[88] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 440–42; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 365.

[89] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 441–42; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 365.

[90] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 442; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 365.

[91] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 443–44; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 365.

7) *The theme of drowning.* Elder observes, "In the Book of Watchers, the origins of evil spirits are explained as the result of the giants drowning in the flood. Mark then provides the *Endzeit* typology that corresponds to the *Book of Watchers*' *Urzeit* typology: just as the spirits have their origins by drowning, so also their destruction comes by drowning. [As in Mark 5:1-20] This destruction leads to healing . . ."[92]
8) *Transgressive Sex.* Some scholars note the possible sexual imagery in Mark of the expression "entering pigs", where 'entering' is a euphemism for coitus or rape, and 'pig' for female genitalia.[93] The unholy union that produced the giants is then reflected in the unclean spirits' continuing desire for unholy sexual congress.[94] This desire, as with the Nephilim, leads ultimately (although more quickly in this instance) to their destruction in water. I do not consider this image to be present as there are no other signals in the text to suggest it and it would seem unlikely that Jesus would allow such an action. Wright helpfully observes that the language of entering (εἰσελθεῖν) is simply the opposite of the exorcist's command to exit (ἐξελθε).[95] Thus, I would argue, no sexual connotation is present.
9) *Jewish Scapegoat Traditions.* The transfer of demons into the pigs corresponds to the transfer of sins to the scapegoat in Lev 16:21.[96] The demoniac's self-affliction with stones (Mk 5.5) recalls the desolate, rocky place of the scapegoat's sending (Lev 16:22, ארץ גזרה; cf. גזר, "portion" or "cut").[97] The cutting with stones of Mark 5:3 may

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[92] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 445; also Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 365; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, TSAJ 63 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 39–40.

[93] Derrett, 'Spirit-Possession', 290; Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.102; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 345; Carter, 'Cross-Gendered Romans', 151–53. I do not consider this image to be present as there are no other signals in the text to suggest it and it would seem unlikely that Jesus would allow such an action. Wright ('The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels', 236–37) helpfully observes that the language of entering (εἰσελθεῖν) is simply the opposite of the exorcist's command to exit (ἐξελθε). Thus, I would argue, no sexual connotation is present.

[94] Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 373.

[95] 'The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels', 236–37

[96] Murcia, 'La question du fond historique des récits évangéliques', 152–53; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 367.

[97] Murcia, 'La question du fond historique des récits évangéliques', 155; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 367. This seems especially

then recall the sharp-stone-wilderness of Lev 16:22. (The pigs descent from a cliff (Mark 5:13) corresponds to Second Temple traditions where the scapegoat was thrown from a cliff (Philo, *Plant.* 61; *m. Yoma* 6.6).[98] Moscicke argues further that in the Second Temple period Asael of the Watcher myth was identified with Azazel of Leviticus 16:8 (*Book of Giants,* 4Q203 7A; *Apoc. Ab.* 14:6).[99] The account of Asael's punishment in 1 Enoch 10 is a "cosmic enactment of the scapegoat rite, in which the source of sin/evil is physically banished and disposed of in the netherworld."[100] Thus, "The transference of the Gerasene demons into the pigs is like the transference of sins onto the scapegoat, in that the demons personify iniquity. The disposal of Legion corresponds to the banishment of Asael/Azazel, since it involves the dispatch of personified evil into the subterranean realm."[101]

Elder does not argue for direct literary dependence.[102] But Murcia concludes, "L'ensemble de ces éléments paraît bien montrer . . . une connaissance précise du cycle d'Azazel consigné dans la littérature hénochienne."[103] Taking the argument of the three articles together I make the following conclusions.

The thematic and lexical parallels come from various, albeit tightly grouped, places in 1 Enoch and do not suggest that one narrative episode has influenced the account of Mark 5:1-20. Indeed, while many connections have been made few succeed in making much sense of the Markan episode as it now stands. #1, 2 and 3 are not distinctive and could easily be coincidence. In particular, the attempts to connect the demoniac's stones (Mark 5:5) with an aspect of the Asael story make no narrative sense (#4). Both stories involve stones, but they serve very different functions. In 1 Enoch 10:5 the angel Raphael throws sharp stones onto

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tenuous to me and probably an etymological fallacy. Either way, it is not reflected in the LXX of Lev 16:22 which simply renders it ἄβατος.

[98] Murcia, 'La question du fond historique des récits évangéliques', 152–53; Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 367.

[99] Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 371. See also Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants,* 78, 81, 108.

[100] Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 370.

[101] Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 371.

[102] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 433 n9.

[103] 'All these elements seem to show . . . a precise knowledge of the cycle of Azazel recorded in the Enoch literature.' Murcia, 'La question du fond historique des récits évangéliques', 157–58.

Azazel. But in Mark 5:5 the demoniac wounds himself (κατακόπτων ἑαυτὸν λίθοις). The emphasis in Mark is not on the stones but the demoniac's behaviour. Likewise, the Watchers adjuring each other on Mount Hermon does not really explain the demon adjuring Jesus at the bottom of a mountain (#5). Neither does the successful angelic binding of the evil spirits in the Watcher tradition correspond meaningfully to the unsuccessful human attempts to bind the demoniac (#6). Mark 5:4 focusses on the human futility of trying to restrain such evil spirits in order to enhance the impression of Jesus' exorcism.

That said, the Watcher tradition does appear significant for Mark 5:1-20 in some ways. The descent of the pigs into the water is given two further plausible symbolic meanings: the recapitulation of the primeval flood (#7) and the re-enactment of the eschatological scapegoat (#9). As Moscicke argues, these two interpretations, along with the Exodus interpretation,[104] are not mutually exclusive but complement each other.[105] They all contribute to the symbolic background of purging evil enemies. They help interpret the pigs as a type of scapegoat and the water as the cleansing destruction of the demons.

Further, Archie Wright suggests that 4Q510 and 4Q511 are examples of Qumram texts that give "a clear indication that at least some strands/groups of Second Temple Judaism believed in the ongoing activity of the evil spirits of the Watcher tradition."[106] For Elder, the task of those spirits within the tradition is to attack people's minds (Jub 10:1; 1QS 3:20-24). Thus a background of the Watcher tradition is historically plausible and consistent with the presentation of the demoniac in Mark 5:1-20 as suffering from considerable mental stress. However, it should be noted that neither 1 Enoch, Jubilees, nor 1QS, have any concept of possession, but only that evil spirits cause people to sin and lead them astray.

While it is hard to gauge how influential such a mythology would have been, certainly it was popular enough that Philo of Alexandria felt the need to rebut it with his own treatment of Gen 6:1-4, *De Gigantibus*. The Mishnah and Pseudo Philo show evidence of other early traditions regarding the creation of evil spirits by God (*P. Avot* 5:6; LAB 60:2-3), but their influence on Mark is unclear.

[104] See §4.6 above.

[105] Moscicke, 'The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 373.

[106] Wright, 'The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels', 233–34.

Thus, the Watcher tradition, including its use of the scapegoat motif, appears significant for the interpretation of the pigs and their drowning (Mark 5:11-13). It is less clear that it also contributes to our understanding of the rest of the Markan episode.

### §4.9 Daniel

Despite the use of "legion" as a Hebrew and Aramaic loan word,[107] the name "Legion" in Mark 5:9 surely evokes the Roman army,[108] even if its principle denotation is quantity, "for we are many."[109] Having established the presence of the giantesque and giants within the background to this episode,[110] the use of "Legion" may direct us to another gigantic scriptural reference, which displays significant links with Mark 5:1-20.

The importance of Daniel to Mark's gospel is uncontroversial. The Son-of-Man language and imagery, as well as various points of the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13, clearly refer to Daniel. Among the *hapaxes* of Mark 5:1-20 δαμάζω (subdue,[111] 5:4) is also used in Dan 2:40 and Dan θ 2:40.[112] Dan θ 2:40 reads,

| | |
|---|---|
| καὶ βασιλεία τετάρτη ἔσται ἰσχυρὰ ὡς ὁ σίδηρος ὃν τρόπον ὁ σίδηρος λεπτύνει καὶ δαμάζει πάντα οὕτως πάντα λεπτυνεῖ καὶ δαμάσει | And there will be a fourth kingdom, as strong as iron. Iron pulverises and subdues all, in which way she [the kingdom] will pulverize and subdue all. (Author's Trans.) |

[107] Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 39.

[108] Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 255; Richard Dormandy, 'The Expulsion of Legion: A Political Reading of Mark 5:1-20', *ExpTim* 111 (2000): 335; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 204.

[109] Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 183; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 143.

[110] See §4.8 above.

[111] This connection vitiates Garland's decision to translate δαμάζω as 'tame' and read into it connotations of a 'wild animal' and see the demoniac as a 'microcosm of the whole creation'. Garland, *Mark*, 203; Rather, δαμάζω connects with the other military imagery in the episode. Myers, *Binding the Strong Man*, 191.

[112] Used once in LXX Dan 2:40 twice in θ. Note also LXX Dan 6:12a uses ὀρκίζω (Mark 5:7), but there does not seem to be a connection between those uses.

The demoniac, Legion, is apparently as strong as iron, due to his ability to break chains and shackles. What the demoniac does to the shackles (συντρίβω, Mark 5:4) is also descriptive of what will happen to the fourth kingdom (LXX Dan 2:42 & θ). Though lacking narrative coherence συντρίβω, common in the LXX, is rare in the NT and has powerful eschatological connotations (see Rom 16:20 and Rev 2:27). The fourth kingdom in Dan 2:40, while arguably originally referring to the divided Macedonian empire,[113] was, in early Jewish and Christian interpretation, generally interpreted as the Roman Empire.[114] Indeed, the identification of the fourth kingdom with the Greeks would have been problematic for first-century Jewish scripture interpretation. Where was the promised "kingdom that shall never be destroyed" (Dan 2:44)? For Christian interpreters who recognised Jesus as the messianic stone of scripture[115] it would have been natural to work backwards from the appearance of Christ, to establish the identity of the four kingdoms.[116] This fourth kingdom is symbolised in Daniel 2 by the feet of a giant statue. While the four kingdom schema was a relative commonplace in ancient literature (e.g. Polybius 38:22)[117] its incorporation into a "colossus or gigantic statue" is an "element unique to Daniel" and thus creates a distinctive and recognisable motif. [118]

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[113] W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel*, Interpretation (Atlanta, Geo.: John Knox, 1984), 35–36; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 43; André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 2nd rev. ed. (Eugene, Or.: Cascade, 2018), 71.

[114] See discussion in Chrys C. Caragounis, 'History and Supra-History: Daniel and the Four Empires', in *The Book of Daniel: In the Light of New Findings*, ed. A.S. Van der Woude, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium CVI (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 387.

[115] Dodd (*According to the Scriptures*, 69) argues that the messianic stone is a conflation of Isa 8:14, Dan 2:34 and Ps 118:22. Dodd sees a reference to Dan 2:44 in Luke 20:18 but no other use of it in the NT. I would argue that the lexical and thematic links in Mark 5:1-20 provide another instance of Dan 2:34-35, 44-45, providing evidence of further messianic use of this scripture. Lacocque (*The Book of Daniel*, 72) states 'The stone, mentioned in vv.34-35 and interpreted in v.44 as the Kingdom of God, belongs to the Messianic sphere. This follows from Gen 28:10-22, and above all from one text so abundantly reused by Daniel, Gen 49:24. God, as the "rock of Israel," supports Joseph.' He also cites Isa 28:16; Zech 3:9 and Ps 118:22.

[116] Besides which, the move from the Greek view of the four kingdoms (being: Babylon, Media, Persia & Greece) to the Roman view (Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece & Rome) was hardly a radical one.

[117] See list of references in Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 43; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 68.

[118] Towner, *Daniel*, 36.

LXX Dan 2:31 reads,

| | |
|---|---|
| καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰκὼν μία καὶ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν ἐκείνη μεγάλη σφόδρα καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτῆς ὑπερφερὴς ἑστήκει ἐναντίον σου καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις τῆς εἰκόνος φοβερά | And behold! A single image, exceedingly great and its aspect was surpassing. It stood before you and its aspect was fearful. (Authors Trans.) |

In Dan θ 7:23, as part of a different vision, the fourth kingdom (this time a beast rather than a statue's feet) will "devour the whole earth, and trample it down, and break it to pieces (κατακόπτω)." Returning to the vision of the statue, despite its fearful immensity the statue's feet are destroyed by a messianic stone, "cut out, not by human hands" (Dan 2:34), which of course leads to the destruction of the whole statue.[119] In Mark's account Legion is overcome and destroyed by Jesus. Thus, in figuring the fourth kingdom, Legion metonymically represents not just the Roman Empire but the whole statue.

The use of δαμάζω (Dan 2:40 & θ), συντρίβω (2:43 & θ), and κατακόπτω (θ 7:23), all in the initial description of the demoniac (Mark 5:4-5) gives a tight cluster of lexical terms from Daniel that helps to metaleptically identify the demoniac with the fourth kingdom. The words δαμάζω and κατακόπτω are Markan *hapaxes* while συντρίβω only recurs in Mark 14:3. While συντρίβω and κατακόπτω are common within the LXX, δαμάζω only occurs in Dan 2:40 in the LXX and θ, and elsewhere in the NT only in Jas 3:7-8. On their own these words would only establish a weak connection but the resonance is confirmed when the demons reveal their name to be "Legion" identifying strongly with the fourth kingdom of the visions in the book of Daniel as interpreted in the first-century Jewish/Christian context, Rome.

Moreover, the connection with Daniel is strengthened by the demon's use of the expression "Son of the Highest God." "Most High" is Nebuchadnezzar's term for YHWH in Dan 3:26 and 4:2 and in Dan 7 during the interpretation of another vision involving the fourth kingdom it is used for YHWH a total of five times (7:18, 22, 25 x2, 27).[120]

Aus suggests Mark's use of "Most High God" primarily derives from Ps 91:1, 9, which the Mishnah attributes to David and as providing protection from demons.[121] This link is possible

[119] 'There is really just one long idolatrous kingdom and "four" reigns.' So, Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 70.

[120] Dormandy, 'The Expulsion of Legion', 337; Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 10; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 88.

[121] Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 6–10.

but there is no narrative coherence between Psalm 91 and Mark 5:1-20. Rather, Daniel presents as the stronger and sufficient source for use of the term in Mark 5:7.[122] Marcus helpfully observes the title is associated "with the sovereignty of the God of Israel over the whole Earth . . . reasserted by . . . divine defeats of those [anti-God] powers' human exponents . . . by casting out the legion of demons, the 'Son of the Most High God' is subduing a hostile Gentile territory through a saving act of holy war."[123]

In Daniel, the destruction of the fourth kingdom is not simply a destruction of one enemy but is an end to demonic imperial power *in toto* and its replacement by the kingdom made "not by human hands" (Dan 2:34, 45). So if Mark is referencing Dan 2:31-35 here, it is not so much a parabolic action against the Roman occupation of Palestine as much as one against all imperialism and oppressive domination in general. All of these, in Mark's apocalyptic world view, are manifestations of evil spiritual powers. Jesus' literal victory against a legion of evil spirits here, symbolically indicates the coming end of those empires, wherein "not a trace of them could be found, but the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth" (Dan 2:35).

John Collins rightly argues that Daniel 2-6 shows no interest in re-establishing a Davidic dynasty but instead contrasts earthly kings to God as king.[124] However, the transcendent Son-of-Man figure of 7:13 parallels the rock kingdom of 2:34-45.[125] Whatever its original intent, Daniel's Son-of-Man figure was soon adopted as a messianic figure in Second Temple Judaism (e.g. 1 Enoch 46; 62; 69; 71; 4 Ezra 13).[126] Given Mark's extensive use of the phrase Son of Man and related imagery from Daniel (e.g. 14:62) and Mark's identification of Jesus as the messianic stone (12:10),[127] I would argue that this messianic interpretation of Daniel is also operating here in Mark 5:1-20.

As far as I am aware this Danielic background to Mark 5:1-20 has not been noticed before. However, such a background has significant lexical and thematic parallels and presents Jesus as the messianic stone who will conquer the empires that have oppressed God's people.

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[122] See also Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 344.

[123] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 344.

[124] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 44.

[125] Towner, *Daniel*, 105.

[126] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 45–46; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 180 n182.

[127] On Mark 12:10 see further §7.2.3 and §7.2.5 below.

### *§4.9.1 Political Readings and the Danielic Background to Mark 5:1-20*

Mark's Gospel as a whole and this passage in particular has occasioned a proliferation of political readings.[128] While such post-colonial or empire-critical readings have an important role in contemporary scholarship they are of more limited value within this particular study with its desire to establish Mark's use of scripture. France argues that such readings, where the casting out of Legion is symbolic of "Jesus' mission to liberate Palestine from Roman Military Occupation", render the story "allegorical" and ignore key features of the narrative.[129] This can be more or less explicit depending on the commentator. One example is Horsley, who argues that, "The casting out and naming of 'Legion' is a demystification of (the belief in) demons and demon possession . . . the struggle is really against . . . the Romans."[130] Understood by Horsley, the story is not an exorcism. It even refutes belief in demons. For the political reader, it is a symbolic narrative of political realities and desires.

However, I would argue that while the story could work as an anti-Roman parable taken in isolation, within the wider context of Mark such a reading is unconvincing. To give only one example, Audrey Dawson makes the perceptive comment that while we might expect political conflict "in an occupied country with previous uprisings," Mark consistently describes the opposition to Jesus as "specifically religious."[131] This is true of Jesus'

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[128] E.g. Paul Winter and Géza Vermès, *On the Trial of Jesus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), 180–81; Waetjen, *A Reordering of Power*, 113–19; Chapman, *The Orphan Gospel*, 117–22; Dormandy, 'The Expulsion of Legion'; Klinghardt, 'Legionsschweine in Gerasa'; Peniel Jesudason Rufus Rajkumar, 'A Dalithos Reading of a Markan Exorcism: Mark 5:1-20', *ExpTim* 118 (2007): 428–35; Myers, *Binding the Strong Man*, 190–94; John Dominic Crossan, *Jesus: A Revolutionary Biography* (San Fransisco: Harper Collins, 2009), 89–91; Joshua Garroway, 'The Invasion of a Mustard Seed: A Reading of Mark 5.1-20', *JSNT* 32 (2009): 57–75; Bärbel Bosenius, *Der literarische Raum des Markusevangeliums*, WMANT 140 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 200–208; Carter, 'Cross-Gendered Romans'.

[129] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 229 n12. See also Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 166; Garland, *Mark*, 205.

[130] Richard A. Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark's Gospel* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 147.

[131] Audrey Dawson, *Healing, Weakness and Power: Perspectives on Healing in the Writings of Mark, Luke and Paul* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), 71.

interactions with human opposition, but the Gospel's introductory scenes (Mark 1:1-15) set up a narrative context that is primarily eschatological and spiritual and makes no mention of the Romans or the Jewish religious authorities.[132]

Warren Carter presents a more extreme allegorical reading. In Mark 5:1-20 Jesus is being presented as having "enhanced hegemonic masculinity" over against "unmanned boarish/piggy Rome." This thesis is vitiated by his own concluding comment that at the crucifixion the roles are reversed and that Jesus is "emasculated victim" and "womanly."[133] If Carter is right, the story of the Gerasene Demoniac would be in profound contradiction to the overall story of Mark's gospel. Mark is supposed to have included a political parable in his Gospel that undermines the trajectory and conclusion of the whole narrative.

Likewise, if anti-Roman polemic was the pre-Markan function of the story, it is hard to see why Mark would include it in the Gospel, not least without erasing the supposedly anti-Roman elements.

Collins, whilst discounting the primacy of an anti-Roman political intention, advocates a mediating position.

> Just as, however, the heavenly armies of Daniel and Revelation are correlated with earthly events, so there may be secondary political implications to the story of the Gerasene demoniac in Mark. It would be a culturally logical step for the audience to link the kingdom of Satan with Rome and the healing activity of Jesus with the restored kingdom of Israel.[134]

It is just such a link that suggests, not a political satire, but a literary background in the anti-imperial visions of Daniel.

In his study, Dormandy appears conscious of the allegorical nature of a political reading, so much so that he has to insist that he still believes Mark 5:1-20 references an actual historical event despite its political meaning.[135] Yet, focussing upon a specifically anti-Roman political reading causes exegetes to neglect the eschatological dimension of Mark and of the exorcisms in particular.[136] Once this is back in its rightful place, the conflict between the

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[132] For example, Satan is first mentioned in Mark 1:13, but the scribes are not mentioned until 2:6.

[133] Carter, 'Cross-Gendered Romans', 155.

[134] Collins, *Mark*, 270.

[135] Dormandy, 'The Expulsion of Legion', 336.

[136] Collins, *Mark*, 272.

symbolic and literal meaning of the episode is obviated and instead they mutually reinforce each other.

For Mark, the Roman Empire is merely a manifestation, and perhaps not a very significant one, of the real enemy.[137] Correspondingly Legion represents, not Rome *per se*, but the forces of Satan.[138] Jesus' victory is not found in casting Romans out of Palestine, but in binding the strong man and looting his house (Mark 3:27). This is surely what the narrative of Mark depicts him as doing, quite possibly in opposition to the violent revolutionary anti-Roman messiahs the readers of Mark may have been familiar with. Jesus is not enacting a symbolic eviction of evil Romans in anticipation of one day doing it for real. He is really delivering an oppressed soul from evil and exerting his dominion and authority in anticipation and proof of one day doing it across the whole cosmos.

Thus a Danelic reading of Mark 5:1-20 observes the pertinent exegetical insights of the political readings, most particularly their insistence on the importance of the name "Legion" within the context of other military terminology. But it avoids following such readings to an allegorical result disconnected from Mark's wider theological purpose. Instead, Mark's apocalyticism in general, and his use of Daniel in particular, are further elucidated.

### §4.10 Zechariah 13:2

As already noted, Mark's distinctive terminology for demons requires some explanation.[139] Without discounting the influence of 1 Enoch 1-31, there is an earlier messianic text with clearer and weightier textual links in Mark that uses the language of "unclean spirit" (τὸ

[137] Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 255.

[138] Derrett, 'Contributions', 4; Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 85. Rajkumar ('A Dalithos Reading of a Markan Exorcism', 431) states, 'The real encounter of Jesus in exorcisms is with oppressive structures which have transcended human understanding and coping ability.' He goes on to qualify, 'However, we have to be cautious about claiming that the exorcism should be understood exclusively as political repudiation. The Christological framework in which these exorcisms are worked out cannot be neglected. Jesus' divinity was understood and interpreted in terms of a cosmic conflict. That the "human face" of the cosmic conflict could have been understood in contemporary historical conditions, though speculative, seems highly probable. The point of departure for our interpretation would be to accept that the central motif of the story is the destruction of the "oppressive powers."'.

[139] Elder, 'Of Porcine and Polluted Spirits', 434. See above, §4.8.

πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον), Zech 13:2.[140] Zechariah is cited, alluded to or echoed several times in Mark especially during the passion narrative.[141]

Table: Zechariah in the Markan Passion Narrative

| Mark | | Zechariah |
|---|---|---|
| 6:34 | People suffer without a shepherd | 10:2 |
| 10:27 | Is anything impossible for God? | 8:6 |
| 11:1-11 | Daughter of Zion/Jerusalem . . . your King comes to you . . . humble and riding on a donkey | 9:9-10 |
| 11:15-17 | There shall be no traders in the house of the Lord of hosts in that day | 14:21 |
| 13:8 | International war, earthquake | 14:2, 5 |
| 13:14 | And you shall flee | 14:5 |
| 13:27 | Gathering the elect from the "four winds" | 2:6, 10 |
| 13:32 | God (only) knows the day | 14:7 |
| 14:24 | My blood of the covenant | 9:11 |
| 14:25 | That day, kingdom of God | 14:4, 9 |
| 14:26 | Mount of Olives | 14:4 |
| 14:27 | Strike the Shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered | 13:7 |
| 14:28 | Resurrection restoration of scattered sheep | 13:8-9 |

In particular the use of Zechariah 14 functions in Mark, as well as in Qumramic texts (e.g. CD B 19:7-9), to set an eschatological context.[142] It quite possibly served that function again in the Jewish revolt of 66-73 CE.[143] The imagery of Zech 9-14 juxtaposes a victorious military conquering Davidic messianism with suffering and rejection. These themes resonate well with the passion in Mark.[144] The figurative use of shepherd imagery for kingship (both good and bad), common in the scriptures, is continued by Zechariah.[145] Mark clearly makes use of this motif in the passion, which to a large extent is also a coronation. Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem, and subsequent actions and events, firmly establish Jesus as the promised eschatological shepherd king who will establish the kingdom of God (Zech 14:9).[146] Mark

[140] Derrett, 'Contributions', 9.

[141] Table is adapted from Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 157–58, 160; Craig A. Evans, 'Zechariah in the Markan Passion Narrative', in *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels, Volume 1: The Gospel of Mark*, ed. Thomas R. Hatina, LNTS 304 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 64–65, 75.

[142] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 158–59.

[143] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 160.

[144] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 161–63.

[145] Goppelt, *Typos*, 88.

[146] Goppelt, *Typos*, 87.

5:1-20 contains many of these themes in microcosm. Jesus both conquers the unclean Legion and is rejected by the region's inhabitants. Similar to the clearing of the Temple, Jesus drives out (ἐκβάλλω, Mark 11:15)[147] those standing against the reign of God. This is the promise of Zech 13:2 fulfilled.

Given that Mark 1:26, 5:8 and Zech 13:2 share precisely the same construction for "unclean spirit", Zech 13:2 is a stronger candidate to be the source of Mark's terminology than the *Book of Watchers*. It is likely, therefore, that Zech 13:2 is a background text for Mark 5:1-20, especially in regard to the expectation of a Davidic messiah who would rid the land of evil.[148] This will come into sharper focus in the next section.

### §4.11 David, Saul and Goliath

Goppelt argues that David is central to early Jewish typology and that the messiah, Son-of-David, is the "basis of the messianic hope."[149] A more balanced view is provided by John Collins who argues that by the first century CE a number of exegetical traditions in early Judaism expected a "warlike Davidic messiah" and, while we cannot know how popular these traditions were in general, when messianic expectations arose these ideas were available to give expression to it.[150] Kirk's statement that David is a "type for future kings" and "the standard by which subsequent kings in his line are measured," is thus reasonable.[151]

Indeed, Evans judges the David tradition to be the "single most important factor" in the eschatology of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[152] With the Gospel's unprecedented combination of

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[147] cf. Mark 1:34, 39; 3:15, 22, 23; 6:13; 7:26; 9:18, 28, 38.

[148] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 28.

[149] For Goppelt (*Typos*, 36) Pss. Sol. 17 & 18 contain 'The most fully developed picture of the messiah from the middle of the first century B.C.'

[150] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 77–78; see also Kenneth R. Atkinson, 'On the Use of Scripture in the Development of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17', in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Craig A. Evans, LSTS 33 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 106–23; Craig A. Evans, 'David in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 194–95.

[151] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 97. See 1 Kgs 3:14; 11:6; 15:11; 2 Kgs 14:3; 16:2; 18:3.

[152] Evans, 'David in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 191.

personal evil spirits afflicting individuals in an eschatological context, David's eschatological connotations combined with his distinctiveness as the only scriptural exorcist renders it likely that David's deliverance of Saul would have been a scripture of interest to messianic Christians, just as it clearly was to other early Jews. In Qumran four songs to charm the demon possessed are attributed to David and a reference to songs that "aid the stricken" also likely refers to helping those troubled by evil spirits (11Q5 XXVII.2-11).[153] In 11QApPs a psalm attributed to David (11Q11 V.4) is given to invoke the name of YHWH when visited by an evil spirit in the night. This spirit is addressed as "[offspring of] man and the seed of the ho[ly] ones" (11Q11 V.6).[154] This suggests the David exorcist tradition is here combined with the Watcher tradition. In LAB 60:1-3 David's deliverance of Saul is expanded with a song, which specifically addresses the evil spirit. Furthermore, Josephus provides evidence of an ongoing Jewish tradition that both David and Solomon (the son of David) were exorcists (Josephus, *Ant.* 8:45).[155]

It is strange then, that Goppelt states that exorcisms "have no parallel in the OT."[156] Likewise, Bauckham asserts, "there is no scriptural precedent for an exorcism."[157] Would not a reader of the scriptures expecting a Davidic messiah, see in the act of exorcism by a messianic figure a correspondence with David's ministry to Saul in 1 Sam 16:14-23?[158] This is the only act comparable to an exorcism in the Jewish scriptures. There, an evil spirit from God would afflict Saul, David would play his lyre and it would depart, leaving Saul in peace, temporarily.

1 Sam 16:14-23 is primarily an account of how David came to be at Saul's court, as well as demonstrating God's displeasure with Saul. However, it could still serve as a model account of an exorcism, containing five features which are also characteristic of Markan exorcism accounts. A five part structure can be discerned in the exorcism in 1 Samuel 16. These parts are the spirit described, the exorcist arrives, the exorcism itself, the sufferer healed, and the

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[153] Evans, 'David in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 191; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 2.1179.

[154] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2.1203; see also Bruce Chilton et al., eds., *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark: Comparisons with Pseudepigrapha, the Qumran Scrolls, and Rabinic Literature*, NTGJC 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 190.

[155] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 207.

[156] Goppelt, *Typos*, 70.

[157] Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 30.

[158] Derrett, 'Contributions', 3; Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 416.

spirit departs. It is noticeable that Mark uses the same elements but in a consistently different order. That is, the exorcist, Jesus, always arrives before the description of the evil spirit and the spirit departs before the sufferer is described as healed (except in Mark 1:26 where this feature is absent).

Table: 1 Sam 16:14-23 and Markan Exorcisms

| | 1 Sam 16 | Mark 1:21-28 | Mark 5:1-20 | Mark 7:24-30 | Mark 9:14-29 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spirit described | 1 Sam 16:14 | Mark 1:23 | Mark 5:2-5 | Mark 7:25 | Mark 9:17-18 |
| Exorcist comes | 1 Sam 16:21 | Mark 1:21 | Mark 5:1-2 | Mark 7:24 | Mark 9:14-15 |
| Exorcism | 1 Sam 16:23b | Mark 1:25 | Mark 5:6-112 | | Mark 9:25 |
| Sufferer healed | 1 Sam 16:23c | | Mark 5:15 | Mark 7:30 | Mark 9:27 |
| Spirit departs | 1 Sam 16:23d | Mark 1:26 | Mark 5:13 | Mark 7:29 | Mark 9:26 |

It can thus be seen that 1 Samuel 16 provides a literary model which could have influenced Mark's accounts of Jesus driving out unclean spirits.

However, despite these similarities the casting out of demons in Mark presents qualitatively different narratives to the repetitive therapeutic musical ministry of David to Saul. Jesus' casting out of Legion, in particular, bears greater resemblance to a more combative event,[159] like the story of David and Goliath which follows Saul's deliverance from the spirit. Indeed, these adjacent stories in 1 Samuel are linked by more than just literary context.

It is uncertain when Goliath achieved his great height. The LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Josephus, all record his height as "four cubits and a span", extremely tall but not supernaturally so,[160] but the MT adds an extra 2 cubits, making him gigantic.[161] The increase from two to three metres in the MT simply reflects his giantesque features in the narrative: his strength, shouting, immense armour and weapons, and his ability to intimidate an entire army (1 Sam 17:4-11). Additionally there are a number of texts that associate the inhabitants of Canaan, and the Philistines in particular, with being descendents of giants (e.g. Num 13:25-33; 2 Sam 21:15-22).

[159] See §4.1 above. See also Starobinski, 'The Struggle with Legion', 340; Carter, 'Cross-Gendered Romans', 148.

[160] The author of this present work is only 8 cm shorter.

[161] NB. a number of MT verses are not present in the LXX, 17:12-31, 17:41, 17:50; 18:1-5.

In Second Temple literature there is a clear tendency to "reconceptualise these references [to giants in the OT] within the ideological framework of the Enochic story-line."[162] This reconceptualisation should not be overstated however, since to some extent the links were already there. The Watcher tradition provides a genetic link between giants and evil spirits in Second Temple thought.[163] This might then lead to the adjacent stories of David and Saul (1 Sam 16) and David and Goliath (1 Sam 17) being conceptually connected via this tradition. If so, not just David's exorcism, but also David's combat with Goliath, may be a significant background for Mark 5:1-20.

There is considerable evidence in ancient biblical rewriting of "the assumption that adjacent scriptural episodes were meaningfully related and thus mutually illuminating."[164] For example, Jubilees 24:2-3 gives the reason for Esau's hunger in Gen 25:29-34 as being from the famine of Gen 26:1. LAB 6:3-18 retells the tower of Babel (Gen 11) as part of the story of Abraham (Gen 12).[165] Thus it is entirely plausible that at some point the two adjacent scriptural stories of 1 Sam 16 and 1 Sam 17 might be connected, especially because of the Watcher tradition's connection between spirits and giants.

Examined in this light, further correspondences between Mark 5:1-20 and 1 Samuel 16-18 become apparent. 1 Samuel 17 is an account of David's victory not just over Goliath but over the army of the Philistines; hence the women can celebrate David's responsibility for the death of ten thousands (1 Sam 18:7) even though he had only killed one with his own hand. Mark 5:1-20 is an account of Jesus' victory over an army (Legion) of demons when he heals just one man.[166] This suggestion is supported by a number of details.

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[162] Lorenzo DiTomasso, 'Giants- Judaism' in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 202.

[163] Watcher tradition discussed in §4.8.

[164] Bruce N. Fisk, 'Rewritten Bible in Pseudepigrapha and Qumran', in *DNTB*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Porter, Stanley (Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 2000), 951.

[165] For further examples see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 399–403.

[166] Starobinski, 'The Struggle with Legion', 342.

### *§4.11.1 Lexical Coherence*

To begin with, there are several lexical connections between the two stories.

1) In LXX 1 Sam 17:4 Goliath is introduced with a semitically styled Γολιαθ ὄνομα αὐτῷ "Goliath was his name" which follows the underlying Hebrew (גלית שמו).[167] In Mark 5:9 the demon's response to Jesus shows the same semitic construction, "My name is Legion" Λεγεὼν ὄνομά μοι. This is significant because every other time someone or something is named in Mark the word order is reversed to follow a more normal Greek style (e.g. 5:22, ὀνόματι Ἰάϊρος).[168]
2) In 1 Sam 17:5 scale body armour, or chainmail (ἁλυσιδωτός) is an extremely rare word used only 3 other times in the LXX. In Mark 5:3-4 chain (ἅλυσις) is used 3 times, the only time that word is used in Mark. In the LXX only occurs in Wis 17:16. It potentially creates a connection between the descriptions of the opponents.
3) In 1 Sam 17:8 Goliath shouts at the Israelites, "Why (τίς) do you come out?"[169] In Mark 5:7 the demoniac shouts at Jesus in a great voice, "Who (τίς) am I to you?"[170] This word is very common, but the combination of challenge, shouting and vocabulary by the protagonist's opponent is suggestive of a link.
4) 1 Sam 17:34 uses the rare word ἀγέλη. It is a strange choice as ποίμνιον (flock) would have been more natural translation of the Hebrew צאן and would be expected in this context. In the NT this word only appears in the Synoptic Gospel accounts of the expulsion of Legion. In the LXX it is used elsewhere only 9 times, five of which are in the Song of Solomon. Thus its presence in Mark 5:1-20 is suggestive of a link to 1 Sam 17.

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[167] Emmanuel Tov, 'The Composition of 1 Samuel 16-18 in Light of the Septuagint', in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septugint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 333–62, at 346.

[168] Mark 3:16, 17; 5:22; 14:32

[169] Also in the MT David is challenged by his brother Eliab, "Why (מה) have you come down?" 1 Sam 17:28. The same Hebrew word is rendered by τίς in the LXX.

[170] On the use of the phrase τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, 'every synoptic use of this idiom involves the recognition of the divine nature of Jesus by demons or by persons possessed by demons.' So Arthur H. Maynard, 'TI EMOI KAI ΣOI', *New Testament Studies* 31 (1985): 582–86, at 584. Although this might weaken the significance of the connection, David speaks with this uncommon idiom twice (2 Sam 16:10; 19:22).

5) In 1 Sam 17:49 Goliath is penetrated by a stone (λίθος). In Mark 5:5 the Demoniac cuts himself with stones habitually (λίθος). Perhaps the demoniac's self-harm with the stones is an identification with Goliath who was slain by a stone (λίθος)?[171]
6) In 1 Sam 17:51-53 after Goliath's death the Philistines flee (ἔφυγον). In Mark 5:13-14 after the death of the demons the herders flee (also ἔφυγον). Again this is a common word but used in a significant parallel place in the narratives.

These six lexical connections are of varying strength and none are individually decisive. However, four of them relate to Goliath and the demoniac who are connected by the words ἄλυσις and λίθος, by confronting the hero with a question (τίς), and by the same Hebraic construction introducing their names. This consistency in characterisation is highly suggestive of an allusion.[172]

### *§4.11.2 Narrative Coherence*

A number of narrative details also demonstrate a significant level of correspondence.

1) Both 1 Sam 17 and Mark 5:1-20 5-6, share a mountain setting (ὄρος, 1 Sam 17:3; Mark 5:5, 11) and the encounter between the antagonists takes place below the mountain, in a valley and beside the sea respectively. Indeed, the reference to the demoniac howling on the mountains "night and day" (Mark 5:5) is reminiscent of

[171] René Girard ('The Demons of Gerasa', in *The Daemonic Imagination: Biblical Text and Secular Story*, ed. Robert Detweiler and William G. Doty, AAR Studies in Religion 60 [Atlanta, Ga.; Scholars Press, 1990], 82–84) finds the 'autolapidation' of the demoniac fascinating, and questions whether it is in anticipation or avoidance of being stoned by the community. Equally then, I would argue, it could be in anticipation or avoidance of being stoned by the eschatalogical Davidic messiah.

[172] As F. F. Bruce notes, "As the Qumran commentators found in the prophetic oracles references to the Teacher's opponents as well as to the Teacher himself, so the early Christians, having found in the crucified and exalted Jesus the one who fulfilled the OT, had little difficulty in recognizing allusions to his enemies – to Judas in Pss. 69:25 and 109:8 (Acts 1:20) and to Herod and Pontius Pilate with their associates in Ps. 2:1,2 (Acts 4:25-28)" ('Biblical Exposition at Qumran', in *Studies in Midrash and Historiography*, ed. R. T. France and David Wenham, Gospel Perspectives, III [London: Bloomsbury, 1981], 97). Herod and Herodias are also likewise styled after Ahab and Jezebel in Mark 6 (see §6). Thus, the styling of this fearsome demoniac upon Goliath, for which I am arguing, is part of a wider tendency.

Goliath shouting to the Israelites on the mountain "morning and evening" (1 Sam 17:3, 16). This provides a fifth connection between the descriptions of Goliath and Legion.

2) Mark 5:2-5 contains a detailed introduction to the demoniac. This has usually puzzled scholars. Morna Hooker construes Mark's description of the demoniac as containing "an embarrassing amount of detail."[173] However, arguably the description of the demoniac is explained as an echo of the detailed description of Goliath in 1 Sam 17:4-10. This supposition is reinforced by the lexical and narrative coherence between these descriptions already noted.
3) Both 1 Sam 17:41-47 and Mark 5:7-13 contain an extended conversation between the protagonists and also feature invocation of god/s. David comes in the name of YHWH, the Living God and Goliath invokes the names of his gods against David (1 Sam 17:43). Clearly one implication of the Samuel narrative is the powerlessness of the Philistine gods against YHWH.[174] Yet the demons in Mark 5 use the name of God to adjure Jesus against tormenting them, presumably expecting that name to have some power over him.[175] This is a rather perplexing detail which will be discussed below (§4.12.8). However, the emphasis on names and the invocation of God is a commonality between the two texts.
4) In both 1 Sam 17:48 and Mark 5:2, 6, the opponent runs or rushes downhill to engage the protagonist.
5) In 1 Sam 18:7 and Mark 5:20 both David and Jesus are praised for their deeds. As Collins writes, "This is the only miracle story in the early Christian tradition in which the motif of wonder constitutes the actual conclusion."[176] This uncharacteristic feature could be explained in part by the link with the story of David and Goliath.

[173] Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 141.

[174] Michael Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Books of Samuel*, LSTS 86 (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 64–66.

[175] Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 99; Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 41–42; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 351; Wright, 'The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels', 240.

[176] Collins, *Mark*, 273.

### *§4.11.3 Thematic Inversion*

A further feature of Mark 5:1-20 is its apparent inversion of some of the themes of 1 Sam 16-18.

1) The protagonists promise to give each other's flesh to wild animals in 1 Sam 17:44-46; whereas Jesus gives the pigs, domesticated animals, to the unclean spirits, Mark 5:12-13.[177]
2) In the MT of 1 Sam 18:2 Saul would not let David return to his father's house; whereas in Mark 5:18-19, Jesus sends the demoniac back to his family. Both Saul and the demoniac want to remain with their deliverer, but whereas Saul detains David, Jesus releases the demoniac into proclamatory mission.
3) In 1 Sam 18:6-7, women come out of the towns to meet Saul and David to celebrate the victory; whereas in Mark 5:14-16, the Geresenes come out of their town to witness the victory and then ask Jesus to leave.[178]
4) In 1 Sam 16:14, 15, the evil spirit torments (πνίγω) Saul; whereas in Mark 5:7, the unclean spirits beg Jesus: "don't torment me!" (βασανίζω). The use of βασανίζω may even reflect another reference to the stone that killed Goliath, from βάσανος, touchstone, but this is far from certain (cf. use of βασανίζω in Mark 6:48).

### *§4.11.4 Unique Identifier*

This last thematic inversion is more significant than it at first appears, however, and leads towards significant yet cryptic lexical parallel.

The unclean spirits in Mark are fearful of torment (βασανίζω) but in fact their ultimate destiny is to drown in the sea. However, Mark selected a strange word to describe this drowning. In Mark 5:13 the demonised pigs do not drown (βυθίζω as in 1 Tim 6:9,

[177] This correspondence is not very strong, but as we have already discussed above the pigs and their drowning carry a great deal of symbolic weight through Exodus, Watcher and Scapegoat traditions.
[178] Perhaps Jesus' rejection also finds a parallel in Saul's anger at David's victory in 1 Sam 18:8-9.

καταποντίζω as in Ex 15:4/Matt 18:6, or καταπίνω as in Heb 11:29) but in fact choke (πνίγω, Mark 5:13) in the sea.[179] Why does he choose this odd word?

In 1 Samuel 16-18 the evil spirit and Goliath are parallel afflictions, one torments Saul and the other terrifies the Israelites. David, as secretly anointed king, is the answer to both problems. In 1 Sam 16:14-15 the evil spirit torments Saul and the LXX translates this bizarrely with the word (πνίγω, 1 Sam 16:14) to choke.[180] This is the only use of this word in the LXX and it is a noticeably odd translation of the Hebrew בעת (piel: to terrify),[181] which is never translated to indicate choking in the 14 other occurrences of בעת in the Hebrew scriptures.

Moreover, it is the only use of this word in Mark. In the NT it only occurs elsewhere in Matt 13:7 and 18:28, where in one case thorns "choke" the crop, and in the other one slave "chokes" another who owes him money. Matthew's straightforward use of πνιγω demonstrates its oddity in Mark's account and in 1 Samuel. Equally rare is the related compound συμπνίγω, used only in the parable of the sower.[182]

I suggest that Mark provides an extremely subtle clue, for someone intimately familiar with the scriptures to connect these stories by using a rare word strangely in his own text, which had also been used strangely in the parallel LXX text. The word πνίγω is so rare, and its use in both instances so unusual and unnecessary, that it constitutes strong evidence that the thematic parallels are not coincidental or unconscious but that Mark is deliberately alluding to 1 Samuel 16-18.

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[179] While πνίγω was occasionally used in contexts of drowning, its primary meaning is to choke, or strangle. See BDAG, 838; LSJ, 1425; GE, 1690. Moscicke ('The Gerasene Exorcism and Jesus' Eschatological Expulsion of Cosmic Powers', 376) considers the word was chosen to reflect 'a violent connotation.' He notes it is also used in 1 Sam 16:14-15 but does not comment any further. Both Matthew and Luke modify Mark's word choice (Matt 8:32, ἀποθνῄσκω; Luke 8:33, ἀποπνίγω) further suggesting that Mark's word choice was unconventional, or at least inelegant.

[180] Notably Josephus retains this word in his account of the episode, τὸν Σαοῦλον δὲ περιήρχετο πάθη τινὰ καὶ δαιμόνια πνιγμοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ στραγγάλας ἐπιφέροντα, (*Ant.* 6.166). Hence πνίγω is attached to this David tradition beyond the LXX.

[181] HALOT, 147.

[182] Matt 13:22; Mark 4:7, 19; Luke 8:14, 42. It does not appear at all in the LXX.

Finally, this connection is not just a word play but exegetically meaningful. In 1 Sam 16:14-15 Saul is tormented by the evil spirit, but in Mark 5:7 the unclean spirits beg Jesus not to torment them. This torment is to be understood within Mark's eschatological framework as the end-time destruction of the demons. We have already noted the mythological *urzeit endzeit* correspondence with destruction by water for evil spirits,[183] but with this use of πνίγω Mark signals that the torment the unclean spirits begged to avoid in fact comes upon them. Without this connection, the pigs are simply understood to be choking in the water. By lexically connecting the destruction of the swine to Saul's torment Mark reinforces the implication that as the pigs choke, the demons experience the torment that signals their long awaited destruction.

### *§4.11.5 More Tenuous Affinities*

For the sake of completeness a few further possible connections may be mentioned, but I do not consider them to be significant enough to strengthen the argument.

There is possibly an affinity of thought between David's defeat of Goliath, treating him as if he were a wild animal rather than facing him sword in hand as a soldier (1 Sam 17:50), and Jesus' defeat of Legion, appearing to accommodate their request and then allowing them to perish with the pigs. In both instances victory is achieved by non-direct, potentially even dishonourable, means.[184]

David is introduced to Saul as the son of Jessie (1 Sam 16:18) but then his parentage is once again emphasised in 17:55-58. This potentially connects with Legion's identification of Jesus as "Son of the Highest God" (Mark 5:7). Likewise a connection with 1 Sam 17 where Goliath's name is prominent (1 Sam 17:4, cf. MT 1 Sam 17:23) might in part explain the unique occurrence in Mark of a demon being asked for a name and named (Mark 5:9).

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[183] See §4.8 above.

[184] Donahue and Harrington (*The Gospel of Mark*, 166) question whether the 'folklore motif of duped demon' is present in this text. See also, Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 210-211 n5; Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 111. Rather than deny this, I would suggest that this episode and 1 Cor 2:8 are responsible for the ongoing popularity of such a motif. See also the discussions of Marcus (*Mark 1-8*, 345) and Starobinski ('The Struggle with Legion', 343).

Finally, as Michael Avioz notes, what is implicit in 1 Sam 17:32, "Let no one's heart fail because of him," is made explicit in Josephus' retelling of the same story, that "David's dialogue with Saul is clearly a criticism of Saul."[185] David's words to Saul, μὴ ταπεινὸν ἔστω τὸ φρόνημα μηδ᾽ εὐλαβὲς ᾧ βασιλεῦ (*Ant.* 6.179) compare to Jesus' words in Mark 4:38 (also 5:36). Thus both David and Jesus tell others not to fear, before then demonstrating their own courage in facing a terrifying adversary with confidence.

### *§4.11.6 Summary*

In my view, Jesus is thus described by Mark as a type of David, his defeat of Legion shows typological correspondence with David's defeat of Goliath and the Philistine army; but unlike David he does not receive immediate recognition, instead he is rejected by the people. As an exorcist Jesus is clearly greater than David, in the quantity, type and permanency of his exorcisms. The ways in which the Markan episode references the Samuel account are summarised in the following table.

Table: Intertextual Summary Mark 5:1-20 against 1 Samuel 16-18

| Mark 5 | 1 Sam 16-18 | |
|---|---|---|
| Mark 5:1 | 1 Sam 16:21; 17:20 | Protagonist/exorcist arrives |
| Mark 5:2 | 1 Sam 16:14-15 | Evil spirit described |
| Mark 5:2-5 | 1 Sam 17:4-10 | Detailed introduction to opponent, λίθος, ἁλυσιδωτός/ἅλυσις, Γολιαθ ὄνομα αὐτω/Λεγεὼν ὄνομά μοι |
| Mark 5:5-6 | 1 Sam 17:3-4, 48 | Mountain setting, running/rushing to encounter |
| Mark 5:7 | 1 Sam 17:8 | Shouting, challenge, τίς |
| Mark 5:7, 13 | 1 Sam 16:14,15 | Torments (πνίγω) Saul/ "don't torment me!" (βασανίζω)/ choking (πνίγω) in the sea (inversion/unique indentifier) |
| Mark 5:8 | 1 Sam 16:23b | Exorcism |
| Mark 5:7-13 | 1 Sam 17:41-47 | Conversation between protagonists |
| Mark 5:11-12 | 1 Sam 17:24 | ἀγέλη |
| Mark 5:12-13 | 1 Sam 17:44-46 | Giving the enemy to the wild animal/ giving domesticated animals to the enemy (inversion) |
| Mark 5:13 | 1 Sam 16:23d | Spirit/s departs |
| Mark 5:13-14 | 1 Sam 17:51-53 | Fleeing Philistines/pig herders, ἔφυγον |
| Mark 5:14-17 | 1 Sam 18:6-7 | Women come out of towns to celebrate David/ Geresenes come out of town to reject Jesus (inversion) |
| Mark 5:15 | 1 Sam 16:23c | Sufferer healed |
| Mark 5:18-19 | 1 Sam 18:2 | Saul prevents David from returning home/ Jesus sends demoniac back to his family (inversion) |
| Mark 5:20 | 1 Sam 18:7 | Protagonist praised for their deeds |

[185] Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Books of Samuel*, 63.

The David story by no means provides for every detail of Mark 5:1-20 and the previously accepted allusions and echoes all potentially have some contribution to an exegesis of this episode. The Samuel text is far larger and structurally more complicated than the Markan story, even without the MT additions. Nonetheless, every verse of Mark 5:1-20 finds some parallel in 1 Sam 16-18. The sheer number of correspondences and the comprehensive coverage of the whole episode thus suggest that for Mark 5:1-20 the stories of David as exorcist and defeating Goliath should be hermeneutically determinative.

### §4.12 Reading Mark 5:1-20 with 1 Samuel 16-18

At the surface level the main point of Mark 5:1-20 is Jesus' great power. The scriptural allusions argued for above both confirm and nuance this theme.

Jesus' power and his exercise of it are not just of a different magnitude to the demons' great physical strength, but of a different kind altogether. The frightening physical strength of the demoniac, which is the focus of Mark 5:3-5, is at no point engaged by Jesus to show which of them is the stronger.[186] Instead Jesus deals with the demoniac on the level of authority, the very same level on which the demoniac attempts to engage Jesus (5:7). Indeed, references to authority bookend the initial exorcism account in Mark 1:21-28 and this implication of exorcism should be understood to continue throughout the Gospel, including Mark 5:1-20.

The previous episode (5:35-41) left us with the question of Jesus' identity prompted by his miraculous authority over the wind and waves. This authority continues to be the concern in this episode.[187] Reading Mark 5:1-20 as a typology of David and Goliath reveals a subtle and

[186] Guth, in her study of this passage from a mental health perspective, notes, 'Although the man rushes up to Jesus and demands he stop tormenting him, Jesus does not answer his threatening advance with force, as others have done so often.' See Christine J. Guth, 'An Insider's Look at the Gerasene Disciple (Mark 5:1-20)', *Journal of Religion, Disability & Health* 11 (2008): 61–70, 67.

[187] As Lahurd ('Reader Response to Ritual Elements in Mark 5', 158) states, while contemporaneous exorcism stories served only to aggrandise the exorcist and contained no greater significance, "In contrast, 5:1-20 is one of a series of exorcism episodes in Mark that dramatize Jesus' application of God's power and authority against Satan's."

complex Christology of authority and identity, beyond a simple equation of "who is the stronger?"

### *§4.12.1 Jesus as Shepherd*

When David is introduced to Saul for the purposes of the combat with Goliath, he is introduced as a shepherd, ποιμαίνων ἦν ὁ δοῦλός σου τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ (1 Sam 17:34). The verb ποιμαίνω is also closely associated with ruling and kingship (e.g. LXX 2 Sam 7:7; Ps 2:9; Mic 7:14; Rev 2:7). It is the same word used throughout LXX Zechariah 11. Having argued that LXX Zech 13:2 is the source of Mark's terminology of "unclean spirit", Zechariah's own combination of the Davidic messianic hope with deliverance from an unclean spirit further strengthens the scriptural connection between the eschatological Davidic shepherd and exorcism.

It is, of course, with the techniques of a shepherd, rather than of a warrior that David dispatches Goliath. Thus Jesus, in Mark 5:1-20, is not primarily engaging in a power encounter with evil. He is primarily acting as a messianic shepherd. He is caring for God's eschatological people, rescuing the lost sheep. David looks after the flocks for his Father. Zechariah's shepherd looks after the flocks of Israel for God. Jesus too is working for his father, the God of Israel. This theme anticipates the much stronger shepherd motif in the feeding miracles.[188]

### *§4.12.2 Jesus as Conqueror*

Twelftree concludes "It seems then, at least in this story, that neither Mark nor his tradition associated this exorcism of Jesus with the final punishment or destruction of the demons."[189] On the other hand, Feneberg, among others, considers "Die Dämonen bei den Heiden werden also nicht nur einfach ausgetrieben . . . sondern sie vernichten sich letztlich selbst."[190]

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[188] To be discussed in §6 below.

[189] Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 86.

[190] 'The demons among the Gentiles are not just simply cast out . . . but they ultimately destroy themselves.' Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 143. Others include Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 141, 144; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 218.

Recognition of the David typology contributes further evidence for the latter view. David was remembered as a victorious military leader and the new David would likewise bring decisive eschatological victory (1QM 11.1-2; 4Q161; 4Q285).[191]

In 1 Sam 17:46 David promises to give the bodies of the Philistines to the animals of the land (τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς), a promise he only partially fulfils.[192] In Mark 5:11-13 Jesus gives the demons to the pigs of the land which promptly results in their destruction.[193] Just as David destroys the Philistine army without a battle, Jesus destroys the *Überdämon* without the physical conflict with which the Gerasenes had attempted to subdue Legion previously.[194]

The torment of the demons is often overlooked, but the implication of the imperfect of πνίγω (5:13) is not a sudden drowning beneath the waves but a continuing choking in the water (it also echoes the imperfect in 1 Sam 16:14).[195] Likewise 1 Enoch 55:4 promises that "the messianic age will bring destruction to demonic world."[196] In the Qumran Hodayot there is a strong connection between the sea and Sheol, Abaddon and the Abyss, where "the doors of the pit close upon the one expectant with injustice, and everlasting bolts upon all the spirits of the serpent" (1QH$^a$ [35] XI:15-18; 4QH$^f$ [432] 4.I.3-7).[197] With these backgrounds in view, France is wrong to suggest that the demons are not destroyed by the water or that Jesus was as surprised as anyone else by the behaviour of the pigs.[198] As Collins argues, either Jesus

[191] Evans, 'David in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 185–86.

[192] The implication of 1 Sam 17:52 is that only the wounded Philistines were killed by the pursuing Israelites, the rest fled.

[193] Cotter (*Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 120) suggests that demons cannot be destroyed as they are spirits, yet that is clearly not the opinion of the spirits in Mark 1:24.

[194] Ernst Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu: Eine Erklärung des Markus-Evangeliums und der kanonischen Parallelen*, 2nd ed., dGl (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), 194.

[195] 'The imperfect tense is rarely used just like an aorist indicative, to indicate simple past. This usage is virtually restricted to ἔλεγεν in narrative literature. Even with this verb however, the imperfect usually bears a different nuance.' So, Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1996), 542.

[196] Gundry, *Mark*, 75.

[197] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1.165, 2.907; see also Chilton et al., *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark*, 182, 222.

[198] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 231.

destroys the demons or at least sends them to *Sheol*.[199] Lahurd correctly observes Mark's focus on this point in contrast to Matthew and Luke.[200]

The narrated intention of David's action in defeating Goliath was that the assembly (ἐκκλησία) of Israel would know that the war belongs to the Lord (ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ὁ πόλεμος, 1 Sam 17:47). A reader in the early Christian church would surely come to the same conclusion about Jesus' victory in Mark 5:1-20. The plunder (שסס) of the Philistine camp (1 Sam 17:53) is mirrored in Mark 3:27 where Jesus declares himself the burglar who has tied up Beelzebub in order to plunder his house.[201]

### *§4.12.3 Jesus and Uncleanness*

A number of commentators recognise many signals of uncleanness in the text. The Gentile location, the tombs, the pigs, and the word Legion (as Roman legions carried scalps as trophies and boar heads as standards), all serve to situate the episode within the context of uncleanness.[202] However, in Mark's narrative none of these external markers are addressed in Jesus' saving work. The removal of the pigs, for example, does not address any uncleanness they had ostensibly caused. Rather, it is the internal change, the removal of the unclean spirits, which brings the man to wholeness and reorients his life to the kingdom. This is entirely consistent with Jesus' explicit teaching in Mark 7:1-23, "evil things come from within, and they defile a person" (7:23).[203] Conversely, a previous exorcism account demonstrated the

[199] Collins, *Mark*, 271. The link between the sea and Sheol is well established in Jonah 2:2, and could well be present as an idea here due to the use of Jonah 1 in the immediately preceding episode. See also Luke 8:31-33.

[200] "Mark's report of the incident emphasizes the destruction of the swine by having the eyewitness herdsmen describe it in 5:16. (Matthew has them tell 'what had happened to the demoniacs' in 8:33, and in Luke 8:36 they report only that the man 'was healed.') Thus, of the three redactors, Mark most focuses reader attention on the finality of Jesus' elimination of the unclean spirits – a feature that supports an eschatological reading of this episode as symbolizing Jesus' defeat of Satan's forces." Lahurd, 'Reader Response to Ritual Elements in Mark 5', 157.

[201] In the LXX the Israelites only trample (καταπατέω) the Philistine camp.

[202] E.g. Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 342; Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.101; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 141–43; Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 10–18; Collins, *Mark*, 269.

[203] See further Lahurd, 'Reader Response to Ritual Elements in Mark 5', 157–58.

impotence and inconsistency of scribal purity doctrines with the presence in a synagogue of an unclean spirit (Mark 1:21-28).[204] Indeed, Terence Wright observes "the Markan Jesus has clearly come . . . to redraw sociological 'maps of purity.'"[205] It would be incongruous for Jesus to relapse momentarily into the traditional "maps of purity" which he had been criticising.

Recognising a David typology in Mark 5:1-20 creates an interesting connection with Mark 2:23-28 and 1 Sam 21:1-8.[206] In the Samuel narrative David's access to the holy bread is dependent on his internal purity. It is not just the exigency of his circumstances which allow him to break the ceremonial law regarding the bread but his internal spiritual purity. In David's conversation with Ahimelech his purity is ascertained by his abstinence from sex, but in the David narrative at large it is that David is "a man after God's own heart" (1 Sam 13:14, 16:7; see also Acts 13:22) and his secret identity as anointed king. The pure heart of the anointed king, rather than his abstinence, is presumably why God himself does not object to David's otherwise sacrilegious act, not to mention his deception of the priest. Likewise, in Mark 2:23-28 Jesus' appeal to David's example cannot be based on sharing exigent circumstances. His disciples are simply grazing, not running on urgent matters. It is Jesus as a type of David who is allowed to operate as David did,[207] ignoring ceremonial restrictions because of his own personal purity, relationship with God, and identity as anointed messiah (Mark 1:10).

In Mark 5:1-20 Jesus as a type of David again cuts through ceremonial regulation and external conceptions of uncleanness to bring internal spiritual cleanness to the demoniac by virtue of his own inherent holiness, connection to God, and messianic rank, and not by any external form or ceremony. This is a consistent pattern in Mark, e.g. the healing of the leper (1:41) or the bleeding woman (5:27-29), where Jesus not only touches what should

[204] Dawson, *Healing, Weakness and Power*, 66.

[205] Wright, 'Margaret Atwood and St. Mark', 185–86. Wright references Mark 1:40-42; 2:14-16, 18-28; 5:21-43. See also 'Crossing Boundaries: Purity and Defilement' in David Rhoads, *Reading Mark: Engaging the Gospel* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2004), 140–75.

[206] For an excellent discussion of the issues and literature around Mark 2:25-26 see Max Botner, 'Has Jesus Read What David Did? Probing Problems in Mark 2:25-26', *JTS* 69 (2018): 484–99.

[207] Goppelt, *Typos*, 85; Schnackenburg, *Jesus in the Gospels*, 62.

technically make him unclean but instead this contact transmits Jesus' wholeness and purity in the other direction.[208]

### *§4.12.4 Jesus as One Greater than the Son-of-David*

As discussed above,[209] the Son-of-David was a familiar messianic title in Judaism but it is seldom found in the Gospels and is never used by Jesus or his disciples, but only by other people or a Gospel writer, e.g. Matt. 1:1. In Mark 10:46-52 Bartimaeus' use of this Christological title is, in Mark, "a misunderstanding of his true identity."[210] For Goppelt, this is "characteristic of the way all of the ideas related to this theme are used with reference to Jesus."[211]

There has already been a Son-of-David who was, in the tradition, an exorcist. But while the exorcisms attributed to both David (with a lyre), and Solomon (with roots and incantations and Solomon's name)[212] were done using instrumental means, Jesus' exorcism was done only by his authority.[213]

The *Davidssohnfrage* is thus not straightforward.[214] While Mark downplays and qualifies Jesus' connection to David as "son" (certainly in comparison to Matthew), David typology is used in Mark 5:1-20 as well as in the baptism and passion accounts.[215]

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[208] Dawson, *Healing, Weakness and Power*, 85–86.

[209] Above, §4.11.

[210] Boring makes a concise and convincing argument, '(1) The "Son of David" was expected to come from Bethlehem . . . Yet Bethlehem is never mentioned in Mark . . . (2) Bartimaeus designates Jesus as "son [sic] of David" while he is still blind . . . (3) He makes this acclamation while seated beside the way [see Mark 4:4, 15] . . . (4) Mark elsewhere is suspicious of "Son of David" as a proper title for Jesus [see 11:10; 12:35-37].' Boring, *Mark*, 305. See also, Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 89.

[211] Goppelt, *Typos*, 83.

[212] Josephus, *Ant.* 8.2.5 §§45-49.

[213] See further Nyström, 'Jesus' Exorcistic Identity Reconsidered: The Demise of a Solomonic Typology', 69–92.

[214] See, for example, the discussion of Mark 12:35-37 in Joel Marcus, 'Identity and Ambiguity in Markan Christology', in *Seeking the Identity of Jesus: A Pilgrimage*, ed. Beverly Roberts Gaventa and Richard B. Hays (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 136–40.

Jesus makes his superiority to Solomon, the Son-of-David, explicit in Matt 12:42[216] but it is not so far beneath the surface in many Markan passages, e.g. Mark 12:35-37. As an exorcist Jesus surpasses both David and Solomon. Jesus' defeat of Legion also surpasses David's defeat of Goliath. David defeats one giant; Jesus defeats about two thousand spirits of giants.[217] The Philistines flee from David and have their tents plundered; the demons flee from Jesus and are destroyed utterly in the sea. Jesus plunders the house of Satan. Thus Jesus is the antitype of David, but fulfils the promise of a Davidic messiah through spiritual, rather than a physical, warfare.

### *§4.12.5 Jesus and the Gentile Mission*

Mark 5:1-20 is set "on the other side of the sea" in specifically Gentile territory (5:1), and demonstrates that Jesus' healing ministry is not for Jews alone.[218] Wefal makes the plausible suggestion that the Geresene exorcism begins a Gentile mission for Jesus which then proceeds parallel to Jesus' Jewish mission.[219] Both missions begin with an exorcism (Mark 1:21-28). Both exorcisms result in Jesus' fame being spread. John the Baptist prepares the way for Jesus in Judea and the healed demoniac prepares the way for Jesus in the Decapolis. The demoniac also parallels the disciples in hearing and obeying the call of Jesus.[220] I would add that Jesus' detailed battle with Legion parallels the testing by Satan (1:13) which preceded Jesus mission in Galilee.

I have already noted David's "evangelistic" goal (1 Sam 17:47, see above). The result of Jesus' exorcism is the proclamation of Jesus' mercy and power within the Decapolis (Mark

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[215] On David traditions in the baptism account see Max Botner, 'The Messiah Is the Holy One', *JBL* 136 (2017): 417–33.

[216] Goppelt, *Typos*, 84.

[217] In addition to, as is often observed, signalling Jesus' great power, the number of pigs also demonstrates the demoniac's great affliction, prior to his healing. His pain and suffering, from which he is now delivered, has been given concrete expression by the huge herd of choking pigs. See Guth, 'An Insider's Look at the Gerasene Disciple', 68.

[218] Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 71.

[219] Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark'.

[220] Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 13–14; Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 100; against this see Klinghardt, 'Legionsschweine in Gerasa', 43.

5:20). Under David, the Israelites plundered the Philistine tents (1 Sam 17:53) but under Jesus the very house of Beelzebul is being plundered (Mark 3:27). That is, not only God's chosen people but the Gentiles are being delivered from demonic oppression and receiving the good news. Jesus' refusal to allow the healed demoniac to be "with him" (5:18-19)[221] is not a rejection of the man but, instead is a) for the purpose of mission;[222] b) for the man's healing re-inclusion with his own people;[223] c) "a real alternative avenue for fulfilment;"[224] and d) "the offering of a genuine responsibility, a sign of trust."[225]

The direction of the Gentile mission, anticipated by the Jonah typology in the preceding episode, now finds concrete expression in the deliverance and sending of a Gentile evangelist preacher.[226] There is no adversative between verses 19 & 20. The healed man does not disobey Jesus. In obedience to Jesus he goes to his house (in the Decapolis) and there proclaims to his people (the Gentile inhabitants) his deliverance.[227] The healed demoniac becomes a paradigm both for the early church's proclamation to the Gentiles,[228] and for

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[221] Presumably as a disciple, cf. Mark 3:14. Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 99–100; Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 79.

[222] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 232; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 353–54.

[223] 'A significant part – perhaps even the most significant part – of Jesus' ministry to the Gerasene man is restoring him to human community, first with Jesus himself and eventually with his own people who had formerly feared and ostracized him.' Guth, 'An Insider's Look at the Gerasene Disciple', 67–68.

[224] Derrett, 'Contributions', 4.

[225] Simon Mainwaring, *Mark, Mutuality, and Mental Health: Encounters with Jesus*, SemeiaSt 79 (Atlanta, Geo.: SBL, 2014), 176.

[226] Karl Kertelge, 'Die Epiphanie Jesu im Evangelium (Markus)', in *Das Markus-Evangelium*, ed. Rudolf Pesch, WdF, CDXI (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), 267. Although Dormandy ('The Expulsion of Legion', 335) and Watts (*Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*, 164) argue for a Jewish identity for the demoniac, I would follow the majority of scholars in seeing that the Gentile geographical and agricultural setting and the man's home in the Decapolis all assume a Gentile identity. E.g. Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 342; Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 254; Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 98–102.

[227] Derrett, 'Contributions', 4; contra Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 147–48.

[228] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 288–89; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 148; Eckhard J. Schnabel, 'Jesus and the Beginnings of the Mission to the Gentiles', in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and*

Mark's readers who cannot "be with Jesus" as the first disciples were but are still called to proclaim him.[229]

The movement of the populace from fear to wonder is the second transformation of the episode (the first being the exorcism itself), this time effected by the healed man faithfully responding to Jesus' commission.[230] That the man's mission was successful is implied, not just in the amazement of 5:20, but by the fact that when Jesus goes to the region of the Decapolis in 7:31 he is famous enough to attract a crowd of four thousand (8:1-9).[231] Thus, while David was content for the assembly of Israel to know YHWH as conquering Lord (1 Sam 17:47), Jesus sends the man to reveal the Lord's mercy and goodness to other nations as well.

### *§4.12.6 Jesus is Lord*

The one point where the healed demoniac could be said to have disobeyed Jesus is in his substituting the merciful deeds of Jesus for the deeds of ὁ κύριός (Mark 5:19-20). As Feneberg writes, "Jesus wollte, dass er das Große, das der Herr ihm getan hat, weiter berichtet. Mit 'der Herr' meint er nicht sich, sondern Gott."[232] But is this a failure on the healed man's part, or a deliberate Christological transposition? France does not consider that Jesus equates to Lord here.[233] Yet Stein is able to go as far as to say, "There exists between God and Jesus a unique relationship and unity. Jesus in his actions and deeds is the Lord (5:19), and what Jesus has done (5:20) is what God the Lord has done (5:19)."[234] Joshua Leim suggests this indirect identification of Jesus with the Lord is part of a cryptic Markan

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*Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 52.

[229] Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 72.

[230] Lahurd, 'Reader Response to Ritual Elements in Mark 5', 158–59.

[231] Koch (*Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 79) sees no justification for a Gentile mission here despite acknowledging the account takes place on Gentile territory.

[232] 'Jesus wanted him to continue reporting the great things the Lord has done to him. By "the Lord" he did not mean himself, but God.' Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 144.

[233] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 232.

[234] Stein, *Mark*, 261. See also Garland, *Mark*, 207; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 219; Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 40; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 354.

pattern (e.g. Mark 1:2-3; 13:20-27).[235] Kirk recognises that Mark 5:19-20 suggests a "close proximity between God and Jesus as God's agent" but considers it too ambiguous to straightforwardly identify Jesus with the Lord.[236]

There is a parallelism between Mark 5:19 and 20 which argues for a deliberate conflation of Jesus and Lord.

Table: Parallelism in Mark 5:19 & 20

| 5:19 | 5:20 |
|---|---|
| καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λέγει αὐτῷ· | |
| ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς | καὶ ἀπῆλθεν . . . ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει |
| καὶ ἀπάγγειλον αὐτοῖς | καὶ ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν |
| ὅσα ὁ κύριός σοι πεποίηκεν | ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, |
| καὶ ἠλέησέν σε. | |
| | καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον. |

In particular, the change in order from "how much the Lord for you had done" to "how much did, for him, Jesus," creates the effect of a punch-line in the parallel phrase. It is formed by the delayed identification of the subject and unexpected substitution of Jesus for Lord. The distinctiveness of Jesus' use of ὁ κύριός for God also cues the audience to what Mark is doing.[237] So Stein is right to say that it is "clear" that the Lord of 5:19 is Jesus.[238]

However, this interpretation is further reinforced by the recognition of a David typology. In 1 Sam 17:45-47 David refers four times to the Lord (YHWH, LXX κύριος x5): the Lord of hosts (armies), the Lord as deliverer (to death), the Lord as saviour, and the Lord as the one to whom the battle belongs. David's emphasis on the identity of the Lord during his confrontation with Goliath renders significant Mark's conflation of Jesus with "Lord." At the very least it is identifying Jesus with the warrior God of Israel, "who does not save by sword and spear" (1 Sam 17:47).

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[235] Joshua E. Leim, 'In the Glory of His Father: Intertextuality and the Apocalyptic Son of Man in the Gospel of Mark', *JTI* 7 (2013): 213–32, 226–27.

[236] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 208.

[237] Jesus only calls God ὁ κύριός twice in Mark (5:19 and 13:20). For discussion see Richard Bauckham, 'Jesus' Use of "Father" and Disuse of "Lord"', in *Son of God: Divine Sonship in Jewish and Christian Antiquity*, ed. Garrick V. Allen et al. (University Park, Pa.: Eisenbrauns, 2019), 87–105, especially 88.

[238] Stein, *Mark*, 260.

In Mark 2:23-28 Jesus, picking grain in typological correspondence with David,[239] proclaims the Son-of-Man (himself) "Lord even of the Sabbath." In Mark 11:1-11 when Jesus enters Jerusalem on a donkey in typological correspondence with the Davidic messiah of Zech 9:9, his disciples commandeered a donkey on the basis that "the Lord" needed it. In Mark 12:35-37 Jesus denies that the messiah can be the Son-of-David because David calls him "Lord" in Psalm 110. In fact there is only one use of the name David in Mark which does not have a corresponding use of "Lord" for Jesus (Mark 10:46-52). It is almost as if Mark struggles to mention David without reinforcing that Jesus is not David, or his son, but "Lord". Thus recognising a David typology in Mark 5:1-20 strengthens the case for the reading of Jesus as Lord in Mark 5:19.

### *§4.12.7 Jesus as Divine*

Having established that for Mark Jesus is "Lord" we now have to define what that signifies.[240] While the title Lord can be understood as a cipher for YHWH it by no means has to be. Stein is representative of those who infer a proto-Nicene Christology: "Although no one should read into 5:19-20 a fully developed Nicene Christology, Mark's understanding of Jesus in the account goes far beyond such descriptions as 'prophet' or even 'messiah.'" [241] On the other hand, for Kirk Jesus' power over demons "fits squarely within an idealised human paradigm."[242] The demons recognise Jesus as a human agent of God who "plays the role of exercising divine authority on earth."[243] Because David and Solomon were remembered as exorcists, Jesus' exorcisms merely portray him as a king, like David and Solomon.[244] It is thus not enough to show that Jesus is greater than David and Solomon, there must be a

[239] Evans, "Typology," DJG, 863.

[240] Derrett ('Spirit-Possession', 291) suggests, "No one could be more certain than was the [healed demoniac] of Jesus's possession of the supreme spirit. In his vocabulary, I do not doubt, the deity of the Hebrews had possessed Jesus (that is what 'son' means after all) . . ." Thus in parallel with the demoniac as a human vessel for demonic powers Jesus would be understood as the human vessel for divine power.

[241] Stein, *Mark*, 261.

[242] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 206.

[243] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 206.

[244] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 207.

fundamental difference between them if we are to argue that in some way Jesus is being portrayed as divine.

### *§4.12.8 Jesus' Divine Authority*

Kirk argues that Jesus having authority to do works of power places him in the category of biblical human agents of divine power like Moses.[245] Such agents had delegated authority and power from YHWH without any need to assert divinity of them. Kirk also argues that the ability to cast out demons cannot indicate divinity because the disciples also cast out demons.[246]

However, this comparison fails because no *agent* of divine power in the Jewish scriptures ever delegates his power to another. The closest we get is Elijah and Elisha, but Elijah has to be translated before Elisha received the double portion of his spiritual power. Anyway, Elisha was God's choice rather than Elijah's (1 Kgs 19:16). Yet in Mark 3:15 and 6:7-13 the disciples derive their authority to drive out demons and heal from Jesus, he delegates it to them. Presumably the disciples also cast demons out in Jesus' name, hence the behaviour of the copycat exorcist in 9:38-41.

So, in Mark, deeds of power are done by disciples and others in Jesus' name (9:39). Kirk is correct that casting out demons does not connote divinity, but having demons cast out in your name is somewhat different. While the account of Josephus suggests Solomon's name was incorporated into the exorcism ritual of Eleazar, this was alongside use of a certain root and incantations (Jos. *Ant.* 8.2.5. §§45-49). Solomon's name on its own was not sufficient. On the other hand, the fragment 4Q560 1:4 describes an exorcism formula where the demon is cast out "by the Name of Him who forgives sins and transgressions."[247] If the disciples used Jesus' name, Eleazar used Solomon's name, and the Essenes used God's name, then whose name did Jesus use?

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[245] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 208.

[246] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 209.

[247] Collins, *Mark*, 167. 'Interestingly, any indication of the use of incantations by Jesus (or his disciples) in the exorcism pericopes is glaringly absent considering their apparent use in other groups in Judaism (e.g, Qumran).' So, Wright, 'The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels', 240.

This is where a perplexing feature of the story comes into focus. Legion's use of Jesus' name and of God must be seen, in the context of an exorcism, as an attempt to control Jesus.[248] As Pesch argues, "Der Besessene schleudert dem Exorzisten eine Abwehrformel entgegen (vgl. zu 1,24) und versucht, mit seinem Wissen um Jesu Namen und Würde Macht über ihn zu gewinnen."[249] The use of powerful names to control spirits is well attested (Lucian, *Men.* 9; *Philops.* 12; Pliny the Elder, *Nat*. 28, 4.6; PGM VIII, 20f; 4.1609-11).[250] The demons already know who Jesus is but seem to think that their use of "God" will allow them to control him (5:7).[251] Jesus' request for their identity is not a sign of ignorance but of superiority. Jesus is famous; the demons are just Satan's foot soldiers. This compares with David's disdainful refusal to use the name of Goliath, instead referring to him throughout 1 Sam 17 as just another (uncircumcised) Philistine.[252] Then David comes against Goliath "in the name of the Lord" (17:45) after Goliath curses him by his own gods (17:43). It is in the name of the Lord that David expects victory and achieves it. This is emphasised in the Qumran War Scroll: "you delivered [Goliath] into the hand of David, your servant, because he trusted in your great name and not in sword and spear" (1QM 11.2).[253]

In 1 Sam 17:36 God is also referred to by David as θεος ζῶν, the Living God, perhaps reflecting its use in other passages where God's people contend with Gentiles.[254]

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[248] Garland, *Mark*, 204; Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 205; Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 675–76; Collins, *Mark*, 268; Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 81; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 197; pace Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 57–58, 279. For a response to Guelich see Grant R. Osborne, 'Structure and Christology in Mark 1:21-45', in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 151–52.

[249] 'The possessed hurls a defensive formula at the exorcist (cf. 1:24) and tries to gain power over him with his knowledge of Jesus' name and rank.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.287.

[250] Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 64.

[251] The demonic ability to identity Jesus is a significant departure from the convention of exorcism stories. Nyström, 'Jesus' Exorcistic Identity Reconsidered: The Demise of a Solomonic Typology', 78.

[252] When Goliath sees David the feeling is mutual (1 Sam 17:42).

[253] Evans, 'David in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 188.

[254] Josh 3:10; 2 Kgs 19:4, 16; LXX Ezra 6:13; 3 Macc 6:28; Isa 37:4, 17; Dan θ 6:27; Bell θ 1:24-5; Acts 14:15; 1 Thess 1:9.

Jesus does not mention God at all.[255] The only "Lord" in this episode is Jesus. Instead Jesus conquers Legion standing on his own authority. His name as the son of the Most High God has already been invoked (by the demons!),[256] but that is inconsequential for the task of deliverance. Jesus, in himself, is sufficient for the deed.[257] Just as 1 Sam 17:41-47 serves to reveal the powerlessness of the Philistine gods against Israel's God so in Mark 5:7 the demons are revealed as powerless against the Lord, Jesus.

Mark recounted the story of Jesus calming the storm to display Jesus as an antitype of Jonah with the Christological twist that Jesus, in place of God, stilled the storm. In Mark 5:1-20 another typological correspondence between Jesus and a scriptural character, this time David, also contains a Christological twist. Jesus plays the role of both anointed warrior and the one in whose name the warrior expects victory, the role of the human agent of God and of God himself.

### *§4.12.9 Jesus' Limited Power*

While most commentators tend to be impressed by the vivid demonstration of authority and power manifest in Mark 5:1-20,[258] a number rightly recognise that the exorcism account implies a genuine struggle.[259] Strauss argues, "It is the evident object of the present narrative . . . to represent the cure as one of extreme difficulty."[260]

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[255] Collins, *Mark*, 167.

[256] Yet another possible scriptural parallel is 2 Sam 22:14 (see also Psalm 18) where David also uses "Most High" for God. Later in his song he claims "by you I can crush a troop" (2 Sam 22:30), that "Foreigners came cringing to me . . . and came trembling out of their strongholds" (2 Sam 22:45-46), and that "you delivered me from the violent" (2 Sam 22:49).

[257] 'One notices all the signs of sovereignty on the side of Jesus; the imperative statement, the question (both in direct style), the permission to enter into the body of the animals (in indirect style) are expressed with extreme economy.' So Starobinski, 'The Struggle with Legion', 343. Correspondingly, Carter ('Cross-Gendered Romans', 147) suggests the demons' language casts Jesus as a military commander.

[258] E.g. Aus, *My Name Is Legion*, 92–94; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 226.

[259] Garland, *Mark*, 203; Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 84; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 217.

[260] Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 431.

As France observes, despite Jesus' superior power, his exorcisms and healings are not always instant (e.g. Mark 8:22-26).[261] Mark even records an occasion when Jesus was prevented from performing miracles at all, except a "few" healings (6:1-6). This presents a challenge to the idea that Jesus is divine if our usual notion of divine power is of its absoluteness and irresistibility. However, removing Jesus' divinity is no solution. With a human agent of divine power any limit to that power could reflect on the giver of the power as much as the agent.

A few qualifying issues present as relevant to this topic. Firstly, Stein is right to suggest that the sea in the preceding episode is not demonic, as Jesus could not use the sea against the demons if it was.[262] In Mark 4:35-41 the response of the wind and waves to Jesus' rebuke is instant. What is depicted is the chaotic creation recognising its creator and obeying; it is easily subdued and tamed by its true master. The demons evoke a different myth, not creation but the Nephilim. The demons cannot be tamed but only cast out and destroyed. Jesus, in interacting with the demons, is engaging with the dominion of Satan. In this domain, characterised by rebellion against God, his power while supreme is not absolute. In this domain there is resistance to the sovereignty of God and therefore to Jesus. This is the same kind of struggle portrayed in Dan 10:10-21 where spiritual powers are at war, some working for God and some against. The Danielic, apocalyptic background to Mark does not assume that divine power is always experienced as immediately absolute and irresistible.

Secondly, in Mark 8:22-26 the non-immediate healing of the blind man at Bethsaida serves a didactic purpose connecting the blind man's emerging sight with the emerging comprehension of Jesus' identity by Peter (Mark 8:27-30). It could also be conjectured that the gradual reintroduction of sight preserves the man from shock and sensory overload. A similar conjecture would also explain Jesus' unusual technique in the healing of 7:31-37, how else would a deaf man know what was about to happen?[263] Thus the apparent limitation of Jesus' power in a non-immediate exorcism may likewise serve a didactic purpose (e.g.

[261] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 229.

[262] Stein, *Mark*, 256.

[263] See further Dawson, *Healing, Weakness and Power*, 84–85.

demonstrating the genuine resistance of evil) or may even be for the individual's benefit (e.g. helping the demons leave willingly and without harming the man, compare Mark 1:26).[264]

Thirdly, and tentatively, there may even be a work going on inside the demoniac during this time till he is at the point where he is willing to let go of the demons. There is only one Biblical example of a non-consensual exorcism. Acts 16:16-24 gives ample warning to make sure the demonised want to be delivered first![265] On the other hand, Jesus responds to faith, that is, recognition and acceptance of his power and authority, and where it is absent his power becomes limited (Mark 6:5-6). As Starobinski writes, "Such then is the paradox of a narrative in which one sees the hero triumphant in relation to natural (wind, storm, illness) or supernatural (the demon) opponents, while he allows human opposition to reappear and persist."[266]

All of this is speculative and no individual option should be given too much weight. The main point is that although Jesus' supreme power does not operate according to the instantaneity one might expect, that is not evidence that he does not have access to the fullness of God's power. There are other possible interpretations of the delay.

Again, the recognition of a David typology contributes to this discussion. In 1 Sam 16:14-23 David is able to drive away the evil spirit from God that is choking Saul. However, the evil spirit would periodically return. God's sending of the evil spirit (1 Sam 16:14) and anointing of David (16:13) appear to be working in conflict at this point, but those two things worked together to bring the situation to a head according to God's purpose to replace Saul with David. In this instance, both manifestations of God's power were non-absolute yet served

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[264] Perhaps the demoniac needs to encounter Jesus and grow in faith before the exorcism can be completed? Mainwaring (*Mark, Mutuality, and Mental Health*, 178–82) relates a moving conversation between a group of mental health sufferers reading Mark 5:1-20 together. From their standpoint they interpret the dialogue as a compassionate person-centred intervention by Jesus that empowers the demoniac to have agency in his own healing. For them, "the reengagement of dialogue is a profoundly emancipatory act" (p185). A similar psychologising explanation is offered by Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, 363.

[265] 'Mark's Jesus never healed without being asked, as occurred in pagan healing narratives.' E.g. Philostratus, *Vita. Ap.* 4.45. So argues Dawson, *Healing, Weakness and Power*, 74.

[266] Starobinski, 'The Struggle with Legion', 346. A similar point is made by John Sanders (*The God Who Risks*, Rev Ed. [Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 2007], 124) in his 'Open Theism' reading of the NT.

God's larger purposes sufficiently. Jesus' purpose as eschatological shepherd is not to dominate the demons in a show of strength but to liberate the man who will become his apostle to the Decapolis. He uses power that is sufficient for that purpose.

In 1 Samuel 17, David, in his assurance of God's protection, still went through a process of trying out armour, selecting five stones (he only used one), and walking towards and conversing with Goliath. The victory was not instant but required God's response to David's faith as well as the actual event of the combat which itself happened over time. The conversation that ensued allowed David to assert the identity of YHWH and give credit for the victory to God's power. In the same way, the struggle between Jesus and Legion allowed a revelation of who Jesus was and ensured the credit for the victory went to Jesus, a point which is not lost on the healed demoniac.

### *§4.12.10 The Nature and Function of Exorcism in Mark*

Around this passage anthropological, sociological, and medical speculation abounds. Whatever the modern reader wants to assert regarding the historical and present day reality of spiritual forces, for Mark there is no doubt. The man is not reacting to colonisation by "possession as salvation" or "possession as protest"[267] but is genuinely delivered from powerful negative personal spiritual forces by a more powerful supernatural being.[268] Moreover, Jesus' opposing of these forces occasions a genuine conflict. If not, Sugirtharajah is correct to argue "Jesus simply treated the symptom without confronting the system which produces such behaviour."[269] Such readings may suit a postcolonial agenda, may describe the phenomenon of demonisation in scientifically acceptable terms, and may even have relevance for studying the reception of the text in today's world, but they do not do justice to the intention of Mark's narrative.

[267] Paul W. Hollenbach, 'Jesus, Demoniacs, and Public Authorities: A Socio-Historical Study', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 49, no. 4 (1981): 575–77.

[268] Frieden, 'The Language of Demonic Possession', 49.

[269] Rasiah S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 94. Cited by Mainwaring, *Mark, Mutuality, and Mental Health*, 173.

As Derrett notes, the healing is as much a resurrection as an exorcism.[270] Girard puts it evocatively, "This man is a living corpse."[271] At the beginning of the episode the demoniac lives a marginal existence among tombs and in the wilderness, accompanied only by a legion of dead giants, hurting himself, and terrifying others. Schweizer dramatically describes his location as "the realm of the dead."[272] Yet once healed he is clothed – returning his dignity (Ps 86:3), and right-minded – his sanity restored, and sent back to his house and his people with a message of wonder. The agent of this incredible deliverance and the Lord to whom the redeemed man now gives his allegiance is Jesus. Thus for Mark, Jesus' exorcisms are metonymic for and microcosmic of his whole gospel. Just like David's defeat of Goliath and the Philistine, they depict a real liberation from genuinely threatening forces and a real victory for Israel's God achieved by God's messiah.

Chapman complains against Bultmann that there is "nothing in the text" to indicate his exorcisms were "signs of Jesus' messiahship."[273] On the contrary, reading Mark 5:1-20 alongside 1 Sam 16-18 has not only strengthened the connection between Jesus' exorcisms and the tradition surrounding David and Solomon as exorcists, but also shows how those exorcisms function to place the messiah in eschatological context.[274] Thus the exorcisms function to link Jesus' messianic identity to God's victories through David in the past and to the promised victory of God in the anticipated future.

All these identifying features surely place Jesus within the various traditions of Second Temple eschatological expectation as messiah, *pace* Chapman. Identifying the references to 1 Samuel 16-18 within Mark 5:1-20 confirms that it is, at least in part, as the new and greater David that Mark understood Jesus to be fulfilling that expectation.

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[270] Derrett, 'Contributions', 4.

[271] Girard, 'The Demons of Gerasa', 81.

[272] Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 113.

[273] Chapman, *The Orphan Gospel*, 22; Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 219.

[274] Matthew who edits away from many of the parallels with 1 Samuel nevertheless reinforces the eschatological interpretation by the mention of "the time" Matt 8:29.

## §4.13 Conclusion

Psalm 68:6, the Exodus, the Watcher traditions, Daniel, and Zechariah 9-14, all have an informing role to play in the exegesis of aspects of Mark 5:1-20. However, I have argued that 1 Sam 16-18 reveals itself as being more significant than all the others in the number of correspondences and the comprehensive coverage of the whole episode. That it is the hermeneutical key for the episode is revealed by the fruitfulness of the referent text in addressing contested issues within the Gospel text. Against the background of 1 Samuel 16-18 the exorcism portrays a human and divine Jesus as eschatological victor and gentle shepherd king.

1 Samuel 16-18 has not been previously identified as a referent text for Mark 5:1-20. The recent scholarly interest in the Watcher tradition as a background to Mark 5:1-20 provided a way of conceiving how Mark could associate exorcism of demonic spirits with David's battle against Goliath, a descendant of the Nephilim. Close reading revealed many correspondences between the two narratives which further discussion showed to have considerable interpretive value. The real correspondence between David and Jesus is indicated by a literary typology which pervades the pericope. This scriptural allusion is thus additional evidence for a Markan typology of Jesus as the antitype of David. At the same time, the comparison with 1 Sam 16-17 brings to light theomorphic features of the exorcism account, that Jesus is also "the Lord" in whose name the battle against evil forces is won.

## §5 Elisha Typology in Mark 5:21-43

*Yet none of the healers, magicians and wise men were able to cure him; on the contrary, the spirit afflicted all of them too, so that they fled. Then Hyrcanus came to me, asking me to come pray for the king, and to lay hands upon him and cure him – for he had seen me in a dream.* (Gen. Apoc. 20:20-22)

Mark 5:21-43

21 Καὶ διαπεράσαντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ [ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ] πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέραν συνήχθη ὄχλος πολὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. 22 Καὶ ἔρχεται εἷς τῶν ἀρχισυναγώγων, ὀνόματι Ἰάϊρος, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν πίπτει πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ 23 καὶ παρακαλεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ λέγων ὅτι τὸ θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει, ἵνα ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῇ ἵνα σωθῇ καὶ ζήσῃ. 24 καὶ ἀπῆλθεν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολὺς καὶ συνέθλιβον αὐτόν. 25 Καὶ γυνὴ οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος δώδεκα ἔτη 26 καὶ πολλὰ παθοῦσα ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτῆς πάντα καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθοῦσα, 27 ἀκούσασα περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἐλθοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄπισθεν ἥψατο τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ· 28 ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἅψωμαι κἂν τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ σωθήσομαι. 29 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξηράνθη ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς καὶ ἔγνω τῷ σώματι ὅτι ἴαται ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγος. 30 καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπιγνοὺς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἔλεγεν· τίς μου ἥψατο τῶν ἱματίων; 31 καὶ ἔλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· βλέπεις τὸν ὄχλον συνθλίβοντά σε καὶ λέγεις· τίς μου ἥψατο; 32 καὶ περιεβλέπετο ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦτο ποιήσασαν. 33 ἡ δὲ γυνὴ φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τρέμουσα, εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν αὐτῇ, ἦλθεν καὶ προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. 34 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· θυγάτηρ, ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε· ὕπαγε εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ ἴσθι ὑγιὴς ἀπὸ τῆς μάστιγός σου. 35 Ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου λέγοντες ὅτι ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἀπέθανεν· τί ἔτι σκύλλεις τὸν διδάσκαλον; 36 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς παρακούσας τὸν λόγον λαλούμενον λέγει τῷ ἀρχισυναγώγῳ· μὴ φοβοῦ, μόνον πίστευε.
37 καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν οὐδένα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ συνακολουθῆσαι εἰ μὴ τὸν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου. 38 καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου, καὶ θεωρεῖ θόρυβον καὶ κλαίοντας καὶ ἀλαλάζοντας πολλά, 39 καὶ εἰσελθὼν λέγει αὐτοῖς· τί θορυβεῖσθε καὶ κλαίετε; τὸ παιδίον οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει. 40 καὶ κατεγέλων

(author's trans.)

[21]And Jesus, having crossed over in the boat again to the other side, a great crowd gathers upon him. He was beside the sea. [22] And one of the synagogue leaders came, named Jairus, and seeing him he falls at his feet [23] and begs him a lot saying, "My little daughter is near death, come lay hands on her so that she will be saved and live." [24] And he departed with him and the large crowd were following him and were pressing in on him. [25] There is a woman in a flow of blood for twelve years [26] and suffering much under many doctors and had spent all she had but to no benefit, rather she became worse. [27] Having heard about Jesus she came in the crowd behind and touched his garment, [28] for she was saying, "If I touch his clothes, I will be saved." [29] And suddenly her fountain of blood dried and she knew in [her] body that she was healed of the affliction. [30] And immediately Jesus recognised in himself that power had gone out of him. He turned in the crowd and was saying, "Who touched my clothes?" [31] And his disciples were saying to him, "You see the crowd pressing in on you and you say 'Who touched me?'?" [32] And he was looking around to see who had done it. [33] But the woman was afraid and trembling, knowing what happened to her, came and fell prostrate before him and spoke to him the whole truth. [34] But he said to her, "Daughter, your faith has saved you; depart in peace, and be made whole from your affliction." [35] Yet as he was speaking, [someone] from the synagogue ruler came saying, "Your daughter has died. Why still bother the teacher?" [36] But Jesus ignored the word he spoke and said to synagogue leader, "Fear not, only believe." [37] And he did not permit anyone to follow him except Peter, James, and John, the brother of James. [38] And they come into the house of the synagogue leader and he saw an uproar, weeping and much wailing. [39] And having entered he says to them, "Why do you uproar and weep? The child is not dead but sleeping." [40] And they began to deride

αὐτοῦ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκβαλὼν πάντας παραλαμβάνει τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσπορεύεται ὅπου ἦν τὸ παιδίον. 41 καὶ κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου λέγει αὐτῇ· ταλιθα κουμ, ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον· τὸ κοράσιον, σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε. 42 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέστη τὸ κοράσιον καὶ περιεπάτει· ἦν γὰρ ἐτῶν δώδεκα. καὶ ἐξέστησαν [εὐθὺς][1] ἐκστάσει μεγάλῃ. 43 καὶ διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς πολλὰ ἵνα μηδεὶς γνοῖ τοῦτο, καὶ εἶπεν δοθῆναι αὐτῇ φαγεῖν.

him, but he cast them all out. He took the child's father and mother and those with him, and went in where the child was. [41] And he took the child's hand. He said to her, "Talitha coum," which translates, "Little girl, I say to you, arise!" [42] And immediately the girl rose and walked around, for she was twelve years. And they were [straightaway] astonished with great astonishment. [43] And he strongly ordered them that no one should know this, and said to give her [something] to eat.

## §5.1 A Story within a Story

If it cannot be denied that Mark 5:21-43 is a "story within a story",[2] it is less clear what the significance of the intercalation is.[3] Such a narrative sandwich is a "distinctive literary technique [that Mark] utilizes far more than the other gospel writers."[4] Yet Mark's reason for the insertion might be as prosaic as to fill in the time.[5] There is noticeable stylistic discontinuity between the stories.[6] The story of Jairus's daughter contains short sentences dominated by the historical present, while the story of the woman in the crowd contains long

[1] As Metzger (*Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 87–88) notes, εὐθὺς could have been 'inserted by copyists in imitation of εὐθὺς in the previous sentence' or 'deleted as inappropriate and otiose.' Its inclusion in NA28 is supported by א B C L Δ 33. 579. 892 sa$^{mss}$ bo. If original, the apparently awkward repetition may serve to draw attention to the expression ἐξέστησαν ἐκστάσει μεγάλῃ, which will be argued to be a significant biblical allusion below.

[2] Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 120.

[3] The thesis of Mayr, that Mark is combining two miracles in order to conform to a numerical scheme simlar to John's seven signs, is not convincing. Not least because if Mark wished to have a certain number of miracles (in Mayr's thesis, 12 miracles and 7 epiphanies) he could easily have excluded one. Intercalating two miracles is unnecessarily difficult for that purpose and would obscure the purported scheme. See, Florian Mayr, 'Epiphanen und Heilungen: Zur Konfiguration der Wunderzählungen im Markusevangelium', *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 59 (2008): 119.

[4] Boring, *Mark*, 157.

[5] Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 116; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 364; Edwards, 'Markan Sandwiches', 195; Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 214.

[6] This discontinuity renders less compelling the suggestion of Witherington (*The Gospel of Mark*, 184) that Mark's sandwich technique 'may be doubted' here because 'the delay caused by the healing of the woman is integral to the Jairus story.'

sentences dominated by participles and the aorist. This is generally accepted to imply differing sources for the stories before Mark intercalated them.[7]

However, the Jairus story does contain participles of its own and both make similar use of parataxis. Consequently, Gundry has argued that the differences should not be overstated.[8] Moreover, thematic connections between the stories are manifold. The word *daughter*, the number 12, the language of healing and salvation, the ignoring of uncleanness by Jesus, fear, faith, touch, the movement between private and public, movement from misunderstanding to revelation of power, and the connection between sickness and death, are all themes which serve to unite the stories of the intercalation.[9] Thematically intertwined as they are, Marie-Christine Chou argues for the hermeneutical importance of reading the stories together.[10] It is apparent that, whatever their individual provenance, Mark intends them to be read, and thus interpreted, as a unit.

The passage also contains many thematic connections to the immediately preceding miracle accounts. These include falling at Jesus' feet (5:6, 22, 33), begging (5:10-12, 17-18, 23), casting out (5:8, 40), a character being "in" an unclean spirit/flow of blood (5:2, 25), the disciples' incomprehension (4:41; 5:31), Jesus ignoring uncleanness (from tombs, pigs, blood, a corpse, 5:1-43), and a fear response to Jesus' power acts (4:41; 5:15, 33).[11] Kathleen Fisher identifies 5:21-43 as the last in a sequence of spectacular miracle accounts in which the ultimate power of Jesus "over Satan in nature, in possession, in disease, and in death is exhibited."[12]

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[7] Achtemeier, 'Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae', 277; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 297; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 364; Collins, *Mark*, 276.

[8] Gundry, *Mark*, 285.

[9] Watts, 'Jesus and the New Exodus Restoration of Daughter Zion', 14; Collins, *Mark*, 276; Boring, *Mark*, 157, 161.

[10] Marie-Christine Chou, 'Parole et silence, chemins de foi: Une lecture de Mc 5, 21-43 selon la méthode narrative', *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* CXII (2011): 363–90; also Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 103.

[11] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 359; Collins, *Mark*, 284; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 220; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 235; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 293.

[12] Fisher, 'The Miracles of Mark 4:35 - 5:43', 15.

Chou observes that this is Mark's longest miracle account and the only miracle account to be presented intercalated.[13] Chou is not strictly correct on the latter point as the cursing of the fig tree is surely another intercalated miracle.[14] However, it is the only *healing* miracle presented in this way. Also, as most scholars would not class the clearing of the Temple as a miracle,[15] it is also safe to say that it is the only example of two miracles intercalated.

Further, Chou suggests the intercalation is itself central to a symmetrical sandwich of miracle stories each external half of which is 68 verses long (Mark 1:23-5:20; 6:5-9:29).[16] However, Chou's larger structural analysis is not wholly convincing due to the omission of non-miraculous narrative elements, and the impossibility that Mark himself was counting verses in this way.

Nonetheless, the resurrection of Jairus' daughter is also suggestive of special significance by the presence of Peter, James, and John, exclusive of the other disciples. This inner sanctum of Jesus' followers are present for the transfiguration, final discourse, and Gethsemane (Mark 9:2; 13:3; 14:33).[17]

As expressions of divine power and healing, all the healing miracles prefigure in a limited way the resurrection of Jesus. However, the raising of a dead girl surely prefigures it with the greatest clarity and force.[18] In demonstrating Jesus' power over even death, it is the definitive miracle.[19]

A number of questions remain for the interpretation of these two miracles. Why are the stories combined? Were they combined because of their similarities or were the similarities added to tie them together?[20] Is Jairus' daughter really dead? Why the emphasis on Jairus and

[13] Chou, 'Parole et Silence', 365.

[14] See further §7.2.3.

[15] The minority report is represented by Origen (*Comm. John* 10.16) and Heinrich Paulus as discussed in Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 2.214-216.

[16] Chou, 'Parole et Silence', 364.

[17] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 239; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 371; Collins, *Mark*, 285.

[18] For a discussion of the resurrection symbolism around Jairus' daughter see Jeffrey John, *The Meaning in the Miracles* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 104–5; also Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 372–73; Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker*, 74.

[19] Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 211.

[20] Achtemeier, 'Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae', 278.

his position? He alone is named and his status as leader of a synagogue is emphasised awkwardly. Why are the witnesses to the healing resurrection of Jairus' daughter illogically commanded to silence?[21] Who wields the scourge (μάστιξ, 5:29, 34) that afflicts the woman in the crowd?[22]

Given the argument of the previous chapters that the preceding miracle accounts refer to scriptural miracles, we are justified in looking for a similar referential strategy here. Perhaps a Markan typology could explain some perplexing features of this story within a story? However, there is little discussion among the main commentators regarding a scriptural influence on Mark's presentation of the intercalated miracles of Mark 5:21-43.

## §5.2 Exploring the Conventions

With these two miracles we are dealing with two related narrative forms. The difference between a healing and a resurrection was not as pronounced in the ancient world as it is for the twenty-first century. "[D]er Tod is der äußerste Fall der Krankenheit."[23] Conversely, Cotter rightly argues that a resurrection or resuscitation is "a healing gone to its extreme."[24] Collins outlines the conventions as follows. Typical features for a miraculous healing include: details of the illness and its unsuccessful treatment, therapeutic touch, and instantaneous healing. Typical features for a resuscitation of a dead person include: the summoned healer arriving after death has occurred, dismissal of crowds, words of power in a foreign language, instantaneous resuscitation, the mention of the deceased's age, and the demonstration of the miracle.[25]

### *§5.2.1 Ancient Healing Miracles*

When the Greeks recounted gods healing people it was usually through a visit to a Temple of that god and often through dreams (e.g. Aelius Aristides, *Heracles* 40.12; *Inscriptiones*

[21] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 364.

[22] Collins, *Mark*, 282.

[23] 'Death is the ultimate case of sickness.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.297.

[24] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 12.

[25] Collins, *Mark*, 276–77.

*Graecae* 4.1.121-122: Stelai 1.3, 9, 15, 18; 2.35, 36; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 1.25.4-5).[26]

Closer parallels to Jesus' miracles are provided by the accounts of human healers. Diogenes Laertius recounts that Empedocles cures a woman "who had been given up by the physicians" (*Empedocles, Lives of Eminent Philosphers* 8.69).[27] This is similar to to the description of the woman in Mark 5:26. But there is no other detail given about Empedocles' healing; thus it is not clear whether this was a miracle.

In the ancient sources there is often ambiguity around medicine, magic and miracle. These categories are to a significant extent anachronistic.[28] Tobit 2:10b contains a similar polemic against the medical profession to Mark 5:26, yet when Tobit's blindness is healed on angelic advice the method bears more resemblance to either medical or magical technique (as modern categories would put it) than a divinely empowered miracle.[29]

Tacitus recounts two healings on the same occasion by the emperor Vespasian. The first was a blind man cured by the emperor's spittle and the second was a man with a useless hand cured by the emperor stamping on his hand (*Hist.* 4.81).[30] Notably, Vespasian only performed the cures on the advice of his medical doctors, and with the assurance that if he had failed it would have been the supplicants who would have appeared foolish, not him.[31] The subsequent cures were seen as an omen of the gods' favour on Vespasian rather than evidence of an ongoing ability to heal.[32]

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[26] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 11–34.

[27] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 39.

[28] See especially Horsley, *Jesus and Magic*, passim.

[29] Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 223.

[30] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 40–41. As Eric Eve notes ('Spit in Your Eye: The Blind Man of Bethsaida and the Blind Man of Alexandria', *NTS* 54 [2008]: 15), Vespasian's healing with spittle corresponds to Jesus healing with spittle in Mark 8:23.

[31] 'Indeed, Tacitus' account is, strictly speaking, no miracle story at all. He stresses that Vespasian inquires of the doctors (conveniently at hand) whether human means can effect the cure. They reply in the positive, describing the necessary treatment, which Vespasian proceeds to administer. Be our vantage point modern or ancient, this hardly qualifies as a miracle.' So Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2.595.

[32] See also Suetonius, Divine Vespasian, *Lives of the Caesars* 7.2; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 65.8.

Philostratus recounts healings by Apollonius of a dislocated hip, of eyes and of a paralysed hand (*Vit. Apoll.* 3.39).[33] These accounts contain little detail but the more unusual story of Apollonius' healing of a boy bitten by a dog and then the dog itself is more detailed (*Vit. Apoll.* 6:43).[34] Interestingly, as well as displaying knowledge of how to heal, Apollonius first shows awareness of the (previously unknown) identity and location of the mad dog. He then reveals that the boy has been possessed by the soul of Telephus of Mysia (on whom, see Apollodorus, *Epitome* 3.17-20), before using the dog to heal the boy with a lick and a draught of water to heal the dog. In this account Apollonius' real power is miraculous insight. The healings (or healing and exorcism) are achieved by otherwise mundane actions that it appears anyone could perform. Apollonius' own explanations suggest that anyone could have performed the healings if they had had the knowledge. By contrast, although Jesus does sometimes use actions like spitting in his healing (Mark 7:33; 8:23), there is never any suggestion that it is the action alone which brings the healing or that anyone else could have done it.

Marcus identifies the use of foreign languages or secret words as a feature of ancient folk healings (e.g. Lucien, *False Philosopher* 9; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 4.45).[35] Jesus' words in Mark 5:41 do not fit into this category. The words are reported and so they are not secret. And Aramaic is hardly a foreign language to the characters in the story. The provision of a translation removes any veneer of mystery for the Greek reader (e.g. Mark 7:34).[36]

Words of assurance are also a recurrent motif in Mark (e.g. Mark 2:5; 5:36; 6:50; 7:29; 9:23; 10:49). Theissen notes that in Hellenistic texts, assurance always comes with particular promises as to what will be done (*Vit. Apoll.* 3.38; 4.10, 45; 7.38; Lucian, *Philops*. 11; *Hymn of Isyllus* IG IV/2, 128), while in the Synoptics such assurances are always more general appeals to have faith.[37]

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[33] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 43.

[34] Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 44–45.

[35] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 363; see also Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 64; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.310.

[36] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 302.

[37] Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 58–59.

As a healer then, Jesus stands in contrast to the miraculous healers of Greco-Roman literature, not because he heals people whom doctors have failed to heal, or has miraculous insight and knowledge, or channels divine power and favour, but because he is shown doing all those things consistently and in combination. His use of audible, intelligible instructions, and use of power rather than knowledge, also differentiates him from the typical human Greco-Roman miracle healer.

Turning to Jewish examples, Abraham prays for Abimelech and he is healed (and his female slaves become pregnant) in Gen 20:17. The expansion of this story in the *Genesis Apocryphon* 20:20-22 also contains a polemic against doctors, and describes Abraham healing by laying hands on the king of Egypt as well as praying for him.[38] Jesus' touch is a significant motif in the healings of Mark 5:21-43 (5:23, 28, 31, 41).[39] In Num 12:13 Moses prays for Miriam to be healed from leprosy and she is, after spending seven days in shameful isolation. King Hezekiah prays for the Israelites who ate the Passover without purifying themselves and they are healed (2 Chr 30:20). Notably, Jesus does not pray for those he heals. This is most apparent in the story of the boy whose evil spirit the disciples could not cast out (Mark 9:14-29). There Jesus cast out the demon without praying, and then tells his disciples that the reason *they* could not cast it out was their lack of prayer.

In contrast to those healings by prayer and personal physical contact, a number of healings in the Jewish scriptures are achieved by giving instructions. In these the prophets act as revealers of knowledge, not as sources of power. Moses made a bronze snake which healed snake bitten Israelites who looked at it (Num 21:9). Samuel instructs the Philistines to return the ark of God with a suitable offering to be healed of tumours (1 Sam 6:3). Elisha healed Naaman by instructing him through a servant to bathe seven times in the Jordan (2 Kgs 5:1-19). Isaiah heals Hezekiah by instructing a servant to place a cake of figs on his boil (2 Kgs 20:7). In contrast, the Markan Jesus usually engages the patient personally. However, he does heal at a distance (Mark 7:30) and by apparently automatic means (3:10; 5:27-30; 6:56). In bringing healing Jesus is never presented as having medical or "magical" knowledge, rather he is the source of healing power.

[38] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 356; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.302.

[39] Also see Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 92–93, 'even in the non-Christian world of antiquity the laying on of hands was regarded as a specific gesture of healing.'

### *§5.2.2 Ancient Resurrection Miracles*

Greek traditions around both Hercules and Isis contain accounts of them bringing people back from death. These do not have much in common with the Markan traditions around Jesus. Hercules' rescue of Alcestis from death was not achieved by a miracle of resurrection as such but by engaging Hades in personal combat (Apollodorus, *Library* 1.9.15; Euripedes, *Alc.* 1136-1163). This was no doubt a sign of his divinity, but not of healing power. Isis is recounted as having raised her son Horus from the dead by means of a drug which also granted him immortality (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.25.6).

The accounts of human miracle workers raising the dead show more relevance. Asclepius (as a human) is recounted as having rescued a man supposed dead from the funeral pyre, against the mourners wishes, and revives him back home with drugs (Apuleius, *Flor.* 19). In Greek legend Asclepius' death at the hand of Zeus came about from his bringing back from death Hippolytus and/or a number of other men (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 4.71.1-3; Apollodorus, *Library* 3.10.3-4; Philodemus, *Piety* 52; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 29.1.3; Lucian, *Salt.* 45; Pausanias, *Descr.*1.27.4-5). However, there are no narrative accounts of the actual method of these raisings.

Similarly to Asclepius, Apollonius revives an apparent corpse in a funeral procession. This one was a maiden who had just died during her wedding (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.45). If the age of Jairus' daughter is seen to imply that she is close to marriageable age, this account provides an interesting parallel. However, it is notable that there is no mention of a groom or dowry in the Markan passage, while these are prominent in Philostratus' account. Another common feature is ambiguity around the girls' death. Philostratus admits to doubt as to whether the girl was dead and the nature of the method Apollonius used to revive her.

In the Jewish scriptures there are three accounts of the dead being raised (1 Kgs 17:17-24; 2 Kgs 4:18-37; 13:20-21). These accounts bear directly on the argument of this chapter and so will be discussed in detail later. Here it is sufficient to note that these accounts are restricted to two closely related prophets, Elijah and Elisha, and that Elijah has no recorded healings otherwise.

### §5.3 Jephthah's Daughter

Mary Ann Beavis argues for the literary dependence of the account of Jairus' daughter (i.e., not Mark 5:21-43 in its intercalated form) on the story of Jephthah's daughter in Judges 11:34-40.[40] Beavis notes the following correspondences:

1) Jair is the minor judge in Judg 10:3-5 who immediately precedes Jephthah, and thus inspires the name Jair-us (p.53).
2) Jairus' daughter appears to be an only child (cf. Luke 8:42) like Jephthah's daughter (Judg 11:35) (p.54).
3) Both Jephthah and Jairus show distress at the prospect of losing their daughters (p54).
4) Both Jephthah and Jairus return home (ἔρχομαι, οἶκος, Judg 11:34, Mark 5:38) to be greeted by an emotional display (pp.55-56).
5) Both Jephthah and Jairus are described as leaders and using words with the same αρχ- root (ἀρχηγόν, Judg 11:6-9; ἄρχισυναγώγος, Mark 5:22, 36) (pp.55, 57).
6) Both Jephthah and Jairus are fathers of daughters – a relationship which is repeatedly stressed in both texts, which share the words πατήρ, θυγάτηρ (Judg 11:34, 35, 37, 39; Mark 5:23, 35) (pp.55, 57).
7) Both stories stress the girls' purity and nubility (p.57).
8) The deaths of both daughters are occasions of weeping and mourning (κλαίω, Judg 11:37-40, Mark 5:38-39) (p.56).

As well as the similarities listed, Beavis observes a number of inverted motifs. While Jephthah kills his daughter because of his vow, Jairus begs for his daughter's life. While Jephthah's daughter comes out to celebrate to meet her father with joy, Jairus comes out and falls before Jesus to beg for his daughter. While Jephthah's daughter dies and is mourned by the daughters of Israel, Jesus cancels the mourning in Jairus' house (p.54). Moreover, Beavis observes that the account of a father-daughter relationship is unique in the Gospels (p.56). Finally, Beavis sees the similarities and differences between the two stories as generating a powerful meaning. She writes "the theme of the Jairus story is the restoration of life to the daughter through the power of God as opposed to the sacrificial death of Jephthah's daughter. The two stories stand in inverse relation to each other" (p.59).

[40] Mary Ann Beavis, 'The Resurrection of Jephthah's Daughter: Judges 11:34-40 and Mark 5:21-24, 35-43', *CBQ* 72 (2010): 46–62. Further references to the work in this section will be by page number in parentheses.

Some reservations to Beavis' argument present themselves. Firstly, is the evidence sufficient to argue for literary dependence or is there simply some thematic influence? The thematic and lexical correspondences are generic and lack the distinctiveness required to confirm an allusion. In particular, the narrative elements which make the Jephthah story so poignant – the victory turned sour, the rash vow, and the stoic attitude of the daughter – are conspicuous by their absence from Mark 5:21-43. By contrast, in the treatment of the Jephthah story in Josephus (*Ant.* 10 §263-66) and Pseudo-Philo (LAB 40), the daughter's part is considerably enlarged. LAB even names her *Seila.* In marked comparison Jairus' daughter says nothing, does little and is not named.

Secondly, if Jairus is the typological recurrence of Jephthah for Mark, why name Jairus after Jair? While this name could be argued to direct us towards Judges it is not a distinctive scriptural name (see Num 32:41, Deut 3:14, Esth 2:5). This is unlike Jephthah, which only refers to one man (Judg 11-12; 1 Sam 12:11). If Jephthah is the intended allusion then Jair is a misdirection.[41]

Thirdly, Beavis' argument rests on the removal of the intercalated account of the haemorrhaging woman by redaction criticism. However, given the evident thematic connections between the stories, the possibility that the redactor who brought both stories together has also altered the stories to improve their correspondence makes any separated text contestable in detail.[42] We cannot know which details, and therefore which correspondences, belong to the story of Jairus' daughter prior to its intercalation with the woman in the crowd.

It seems possible that the Judges story of Jephthah's daughter influenced the story of Jarius' daughter at some point in its transmission. The similarities noted by Beavis show that either the story invites comparison to or has been influenced by Judg 11:34-40. However, in the form we have it now there is insufficient evidence for literary dependence or hermeneutical importance. Additionally, the interconnected nature of the intercalated stories in their Markan form raises the question whether there is any hermeneutically critical referent text that is able to account for both stories together?

[41] Alternatively, Pesch (Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.299-300) argues that Jarius ('God shines forth' from יאיר or 'God awakens' from יעיר) symbolically anticipates the daughter's resurrection.

[42] Schmücker, 'Zur Funktion der Wundergeschichten im Markusevangelium', 1.

### §5.4 Isaiah's New Exodus

Watts' 2004 chapter on Mark 5:21-43 continues the line of inquiry established in his *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* .[43] He argues for a new exodus background to the stories with the following observations.

1) Isa 64:6-9 connects to Mark 5:21-43 through themes of uncleanness, menstrual flow/cloth (Isa 64:6; Mark 5:25), withering away/dying (Isa 64:6), hidden face/ behind Jesus (Isa 64:7; Mark 5:27) (p.19).
2) In Isa 66:2, 5a God will look at the one who trembles, as the woman trembles before Jesus (τρέμω, Mark 5:33) (p.19).
3) In Isaiah God's people are commonly described as daughter which resonates with the language in Mark 5:23, 34, 35 (θυγάτηρ/θυγάτριον; cf. Isa 1:8; 3:16; 4:4; 10:30, 32; 16:2; 37:22; 52:2; 62:11) (p.19).
4) In Isa 57:19 the Lord blesses Israel with peace and healing. This resonates with Mark's only use of peace language in the gospel (Mark 5:34) (pp.19-20).
5) Watts argues that μάστιξ generally implies divine punishment in the LXX (Tob 11:15; 13:2, 10; Ps 31:10; 38:1; Jdt 8:27). So the use of μάστιξ in Mark 5:29 and 34 may imply divine chastening echoing Isa 64:5, "we sinned." He also notes *Pss. Sol.* 7:9 alludes to Isa 63:17-18 and also uses μάστιξ, and *Pss. Sol.* 8:12 refers to menstrual blood defilement as the cause of God's judgement (p.20).
6) Mark "sees the woman as a symbol of exiled Israel. Israel too is separated from her God and unclean. But if she will reach out in faith, Jesus, son of God, will cleanse the nation of her impurity, reaffirm them as his 'daughter' people, and bless them with peace" (p.20).
7) Isa 65:19-21 connects to Mark 5:21-43 as Jesus stops the weeping and wailing (Isa 65:19 "no more shall be the sound of weeping"; Mark 5:38-39) and as Jesus raises the child from premature death to live out her days, followed by eating (Isa 65:20-21 "No more shall there be in it an infant that lives but a few days. . . they shall . . . eat their fruit"; Mark 5:23, 41-43) (pp.20-21).
8) Further to the previous point, the LXX of Isa 65:20 uses ἄωρος (infant) which implies someone who has died too early and is unmarried.[44] This corresponds to Jairus' daughter being not yet married (p.21).

[43] Watts, 'Jesus and the New Exodus Restoration of Daughter Zion'. In the following section, page numbers in brackets refer to this work.

9) Jairus, if derived from אור, means "he will/may he enlighten." This connects to Isa 60:1 (also Isa 58:8, 60:19-20). Isa 60:1 also corresponds to Jesus' command to the girl to arise (Mark 5:41) (p.22).
10) Jesus' command to "fear not" in Mark 5:36 is characteristic of God's encouragement to his people in Isa 40:9; 41:10, 13, 14; 43:1, 5; 44:2, 8 [2x]; 51:7; 54:4 (p.22).
11) "The daughter Zion imagery might also explain the enigmatic references to 'twelve'" (Mark 5:25, 42). That is, "Mark is inviting us to see the woman and the girl as symbols of Israel" (pp.22-23).
12) Mark's use of salvation language (σῴζω, Mark 5:23, 28, 34) corresponds to the same in Isaiah (Isa 59:17; 60:16; 62:1, 11; 63:1, 8, 9) (p.24).

Watts concludes that the meaning of the stories is, "Daughter Zion, wasting away in her uncleanness, even 'dead' in exile, can be cleansed and resurrected, if only she will repent and believe the good news" (p.29).

A significant strength of Watts' suggestion is that it reads the intercalated stories together. In this reading Daughter Zion is represented in complementary aspects by both females in the Markan passage. I would also add that Isa 64:2, "tremble at your presence" could correspond to the woman's trembling (Mark 5:33); and Isa 64:4 "who works for those who wait for him" could correspond to Jairus' need to wait for Jesus' work (Mark 5:25-36).

Against those who do not consider the repeated mention of the number twelve to be meaningful,[45] Watts is surely right to see a symbolic reference to Israel (#11).[46] No other Markan miracle account concerns itself with the age of a supplicant or the length of time someone has suffered. Given this, the coincidence of the same number being used in both intercalated stories must be significant. The fact that the number twelve is invested with significance by Mark elsewhere (3:14; 6:7; 8:19) leaves little room for doubt.

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[44] See BDAG 161.

[45] France (*The Gospel of Mark*, 235) considers investing the coincidence with any interpretive meaning 'surely a counsel of despair.' Also Collins, *Mark*, 286.

[46] 'Indeed the mention of the twelve years of the daughter serves no direct function in the action of the plot but operates only as a verbal link to the story of the woman with the issue of blood.' Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 107.

Equally, while the use of daughter language in regard to the young girl could be explained as an expected result of the narrative, Jesus also addresses the woman in the crowd as daughter, and, with the two stories combined, this invests the word with apparent significance (#3). In Jesus' other dealings with women in Mark, no one else is addressed as daughter (cf. Mark 1:31; 7:24-30; 12:41-44; 14:3-9).[47]

However, the lexical overlaps do not amount to more than use of similar language, as you would expect from an author steeped in the scriptures. There are no phrases or unique words to indicate a stronger connection. Indeed the lexical connections observed by Watts are taken not from one passage but from several different parts of Isaiah 40-66 (#2, 3, 4, 10, 12).

In terms of narrative cohesion between the two passages there is even less connection. Isaiah 63:15-64:12 is a prayer of penitence which complains of God's silence. Isaiah 65:1-16 is a defence and promise of God's judgement. Isaiah 65:17-25 is a promise of the New Creation. While there is certainly some thematic overlap between Isa 63:15-65:25 and Mark 5:21-43 there does not appear to be sufficient connection between the two passages to see Mark referencing Isaiah here in any deliberate or sustained way. It may be that, as part of a wider strategy, Mark does intend his readers to view the healings of 5:21-43 within the context of and as part of an Isaianic New Exodus. In this passage, however, it is not a clear scriptural referent. Any connections should be considered as echoes rather than an authorial allusion.

### §5.5 The Sacred Marriage

Derrett's 1989 study on Mark 5:21-43,[48] while often included in bibliographies on the passage, has been largely ignored in discussion. Perhaps Watts speaks for the silent majority when he writes, "Derrett's argumentation and his linguistic and conceptual parallels are too esoteric to be convincing."[49] Some of Derrett's points are incredibly tenuous (and often superfluous) and his style frequently difficult to penetrate. His presentation is also undermined by excessive psychological and medical speculation. However, his overall thesis is plausible and may benefit from a more sympathetic exposition. Derrett interprets Mark

[47] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 238.

[48] Derrett, 'Mark's Technique'; see also a shorter treatment in Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.105-108.

[49] Watts, 'Jesus and the New Exodus Restoration of Daughter Zion', 17.

5:21-43 within a complex web of Jewish scriptures. I will list and, as necessary, reframe what I perceive to be Derrett's stronger points:[50]

1) Mark 5:34 connects to Hab 2:4 through the reference to faith (p478); Hab 2:3, "if it seems to tarry, wait for it," connects to Mark 5:36, as Jairus waits for Jesus to heal his daughter (p.479).
2) In 1 Sam 1:17 Hannah is bid to "go in peace" with her fertility restored which connects to Jesus' words in Mark 5:34 (p.479).
3) Jer 8:11, 18-22, describe incompetent attempts to heal Israel, including remonstrations against doctors. This connects with Jesus' success as healer after many doctors had failed (Mark 5:26) (p.485).
4) The healing of Jairus' daughter echoes a wedding with Jesus as bridegroom. The disciples are present as groomsmen/witnesses. The mother and father are present to give the girl away. Jesus takes the girl's hand, after which a symbolic wedding feast is called for ("give her something to eat") (pp.485-87).
5) In the Byzantine textual tradition Mark 5:40 ends with καὶ εἰσπορεύεται ὅπου ἦν τὸ παιδίον ἀνακείμενον.[51] Derrett argues that the word ἀνακείμενον is missing in other traditions because copyists did not appreciate its significance. Derrett sees this word as having an important double entendre: the girl is both laid aside as a corpse but also reclining (ἀνάκειμαι, cf. Mark 14:18; 16:14) as a prospective "diner" ready for the wedding feast/messianic banquet (pp.485-7).
6) The command "to rise" (Mark 5:41) echoes that of the divine bridegroom in Song of Songs 2:10, 13 (p.488).
7) Once the lover of Song of Songs is awakened it is time to feast (Song 4:16, 5:1); this connects with the order of events in Mark 5:41-43 (p.489).
8) Derrett connects Zeph 3:13, "they shall . . . utter no lies, nor shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouths," with the phrase "she told him the whole truth" (Mark 5:33) and Zeph 3:14 "daughter Zion/Jerusalem" with the daughter language in Mark 5:23, 34 (pp.492-3).

[50] Page numbers in parentheses are to Derrett, 'Mark's Technique'.

[51] Attested in A C K N 33. 579. 1241. 1424. *l*2211 M lat. See also κατακειμενον in W Θ $f^{1.13}$ 28. 565. 700. 2542.

9) In Zech 8:23, taking hold of a man's garment implies seeking refuge and recognising his godliness; this connects with the woman's action in Mark 5:27 (p.494).[52]
10) The woman in the crowd's secret touch parallels Ruth secretly going to Boaz (Mark 5:27; Ruth 3:7-8). Both events are also followed by dialogue (Mark 5:30-34), and, Derrett would argue, a marriage (Ruth 4:13) (p.495). Boaz also addresses Ruth as daughter (Ruth 2:8; Mark 5:34) and invites her to eat (Ruth 2:14; Mark 5:43) (pp.497-98).
11) Ezek 16, a significant exposition of the sacred marriage, begins by picturing Israel as a naked unwashed newborn child (Ezek 16:4-6). This connects to the woman coming to Jesus in poverty and in a flow of blood (Mark 5:25-26). Derrett suggests that the otherwise puzzling σοὶ λέγω of the translation in Mark 5:41 alludes to the command in Ezek 16:6 (p.496). Ezekiel 16:8, is another use of garment imagery where the spreading of YHWH's garment over Israel meant coming under his protection which connects to the woman touching Jesus' clothes (p.498).

Derrett thus argues that in Mark 5:21-43, "The Sacred Marriage, inaugurated by covenant so long ago, repeatedly frustrated, is at last consummated perfectly, conformable to Ezekiel, Hosea, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah" (p499). To reframe his thesis: echoing texts from Ezekiel, Hosea, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Ruth and Song of Songs the miracles of Mark 5:21-43 show Jesus symbolically enacting the sacred marriage as the healer and redeemer of Israel. This conclusion, while novel, is not especially radical. It would be commensurate with the accepted readings of Jesus enacting triumph over chaos (Mark 4:35-41) and triumph over spiritual forces of evil (Mark 5:1-20) in the immediately preceding narratives.

The connection with Habbakuk (#1) makes sense in light of the clear centrality of faith to both texts. As Edwards has argued, "The woman's faith forms the center of the sandwich and is the key to its interpretation. Through her Mark shows how faith in Jesus can transform fear

[52] On this point Derrett may have been influenced by an earlier study by J. T. Cummings ('The Tassel of His Cloak: Mark, Luke, Matthew – and Zechariah', in *Studia Biblica 1978*, vol. II. Papers on the Gospels, JSNTSup 2 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980], 47–61) which also argues for a messianic reading of Zech 8:23 and its significance for Mark. Although he was present at the congress where the paper was presented (and presented his own paper there) he does not cite Cummings in his subsequent work.

and despair into hope and salvation."[53] Paul's use of Hab 2:4 in Rom 1:17 and Gal 3:11 suggests its prominence in the early church.

The Jeremiah connection (#3) is especially interesting as it would make sense of the critique of doctors. Collins has suggested such a critique is a noticeable departure from the miracle healing convention.[54] However, Tob 2:10 and *Gen. Apoc*. 20:20-22 provide evidence this is not a unique feature of this miracle and that therefore it does not necessarily need an explanation.[55]

The combination of daughter language and the emphasis on truthfulness of those who seek refuge in YHWH in Zeph 3:13-14 (#9) may explain the apparently unnecessary addition of "whole" to "truth" in Mark 5:33 (πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν). However, the link is hardly direct and, as Marcus point out, the phrase "the whole truth" has a similar legal pedigree in Greek as does its English equivalent (Isocrates, *Antid.* 50; Plato, *Apol.* 17b; Lycurgus, *Leocrates* 32; Josephus, *J.W.* 7.31).[56]

The observations of #9 and #10 are bound together by Ruth 2:12; 3:9. Ruth seeks refuge both with a man, Boaz, and with YHWH by coming under their wing/edge of garment (כנף/πτέρυξ).[57] Derrett rightly argues Ruth is "a paradigm of taking refuge with the Deity" (p497). Through the woman in the crowd seeking salvation from Jesus with a secret touch of his clothes, Ruth's secret appeal to Boaz, and by extension her refuge with YHWH, is evoked. A background of Ruth would also explain the unusual feature of Jesus' initially un-consented performance of the miracle. Rather than a vestige of a magical superstition, this could be an echo of Ruth's initial secretive approach to Boaz without his prior consent.

The connection to Ezekiel (#11) could be important beyond the theme of the sacred marriage. While France has argued, "Mark gives no overt indication that he wishes to suggest a resurrection typology,"[58] most other commentators correctly see some eschatological

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[53] Edwards, 'Markan Sandwiches', 205.

[54] Collins, *Mark*, 277.

[55] On these texts see §5.2 above.

[56] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 360.

[57] Charles Halton, 'An Indecent Proposal: The Theological Core of the Book of Ruth', *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 26 (2012): 35.

[58] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 240.

significance to the raising of the dead.[59] In a resurrection story of a girl who symbolically represents Israel and that references Ezek 16:4-8, the reader might also remember Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of Israel (Ezek 37:1-14).

The strength of the sacred marriage thesis is that it accounts well for both stories together. They each have their own differing connections (Jairus' daughter #1, 5, 6, 7; the Haemorrhaging woman #2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11) but as a composite provide diverse coverage of the theme of the sacred marriage. If, as Derrett states, "The marriage of YHWH with his people is one of the most sacred ideas of Judaism" (490), then it is understandable that Mark would want to relate Jesus to it in some way. This theme, that will later find explicit NT expression in Rev 21-22, is here presented implicitly in a symbolic enactment. Jesus has already been presented as the eschatological bridegroom in Mark 2:19-20, so this is only a development of a previously stated idea and not a novelty for Mark. Finally, the Sacred Marriage theme works well alongside the New Exodus theme as both scriptural themes identify the females as symbols of Israel. There is no reason why the two ideas should be exclusive of each other. They serve to reinforce each other.

Yet we must ask the question whether we have observed any indicators of a deliberate allusion? In my judgement, much like the chaos motif in Mark 4:35-41, the sacred marriage motif may be present but only as a symbolic background, not as a direct literary influence. Derrett's argument certainly shows the symbolic potential of a number of the story's features, especially the woman's secret approach to touch Jesus' garment.However, its lack of strong lexical correspondences or of multiple allusive references to any one text leaves room for other, stronger, literary influences within Mark 5:21-43.

### §5.6 Elisha, 2 Kings 4:18-37

While a number of scriptural prophets performed some manner of healing,[60] Elijah and Elisha are the only prophets to raise someone from the dead. Elisha was held in high esteem as a

[59] E.g. Boring, *Mark*, 163; Garland, *Mark*, 226; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 178; Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 121–22.

[60] See above.

miracle worker (Sir 48:12-14; Josephus, *Ant.* 9 §182).[61] Unlike Elijah, Elisha also healed (2 Kgs 5). The double portion of Elijah's spirit that Elisha asked for (2 Kgs 2:9) was understood to be substantiated in Elisha performing twice as many miracles, a fact not lost on ancient exegetes.[62]

> 12 When Elijah was enveloped in the whirlwind, Elisha was filled with his spirit. He performed twice as many signs, and marvels with every utterance of his mouth. Never in his lifetime did he tremble before any ruler, nor could anyone intimidate him at all. 13 Nothing was too hard for him, and when he was dead, his body prophesied. 14 In his life he did wonders, and in death his deeds were marvellous. (Sir 48:12-14, NRSV)

Given Mark's identification of John the Baptist as a type of Elijah (Mark 1:6; 9:13) and Jesus' receiving of the Spirit in John's baptism (Mark 1:9-11), it is a natural step to see Jesus as a type of Elisha. Importantly, because of Elisha's double portion, "the attribution of an Elisha role to Jesus need not have been a derogation, but rather a recognition that more of the spirit of God had come upon him."[63] There is also an affinity in lifestyle, whereas Elijah and John were solitary prophets out in the wilderness, Elisha and Jesus are presented as having a community of disciples and travelling among towns and villages.[64] Gerald Bostock suggests that the transfiguration account where Jesus met Moses and Elijah (Mark 9:2-8) casts Jesus as both Joshua and Elisha, the respective heirs of Moses and Elijah. And, even as Jesus and Joshua are the same Hebrew name, the name Jesus also leads to an identification with Elisha as their names are of similar meaning and construction (יהושוע "Yah saves"/ אלישע "God is salvation").[65]

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[61] Raymond Brown, 'Jesus and Elisha', *Perspective* 12 (1971): 90; Joseph Blenkinsopp, 'Miracles: Elisha and Hanina Ben Dosa', in *Miracles in Jewish and Christian Antiquity: Imagining Truth*, ed. John C. Cavadini, Notre Dame Studies in Theology 3 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 76.

[62] Originally, the double portion most likely referred to the eldest son's portion of the inheritance (Deut 21:17). Barnabas Lindars, 'Elijah, Elisha and the Gospel Miracles', in *Miracles*, ed. C. F. D. Moule (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co, 1965), 73; John Gray, *I & II Kings*, 2nd rev. ed., OTL (London: SCM, 1970), 475.

[63] Brown, 'Jesus and Elisha', 88.

[64] Brown, 'Jesus and Elisha', 89.

[65] Gerald Bostock, 'Jesus as the New Elisha', *ExpTim* 92 (1980): 40.

The Elijah-Elisha narrative has been argued to be an important, even the most important, literary background for Mark's gospel.[66] The Gospel's opening scripture quote from Malachi (Mark 1:2) "opens up" the Elijah-Elisha story from the beginning of the Gospel.[67] In particular, studies by Wolfgang Roth, Thomas Brodie, and most recently Adam Winn, have sought to demonstrate that Mark's gospel alludes to or uses 1 Kgs 17– 2 Kgs 13 as a source for structure, narrative and detail.[68] Within the Jewish scriptures, the ministry of Elisha as worker of diverse serial miracles provides the strongest available literary parallel with the ministry of Jesus as a worker of diverse serial miracles.[69] Hieke Omerzu observes that Mark's use of Elijah-Elisha traditions combines the stories of the righteous prophets with eschatological expectation concerning Elijah's return, but uses structural or thematic allusions to do so rather than unambiguous scripture references.[70]

Surprisingly, the narrative connection between the accounts of Elijah and Elisha raising the dead and Jesus raising the dead has not been explored in any depth by any of the aforementioned scholars. While Roth briefly notes a formal correspondence between the two stories, his concern is to show 2 Kgs 4:18-37 (also 1 Kgs 17:1-18:46; 1 Kgs 21:1-22:40; & 2 Kgs 11:1-12:17) as the source for Mark's intercalation technique.[71] Because the examples from 1-2 Kings are not intercalations but linear narratives with multiple episodes his suggestion is not convincing.

Rudolf Pesch had earlier argued that the pre-Markan tradition of Jarius' daughter was a healing which, influenced by the Elijah and Elisha stories became a resurrection story.[72] However, Gnilka is perhaps representative of others in finding, "Eine direkte literarische Abhängigkeit läßt sich aber nicht nachweisen."[73] Pesch's judgement remains true: "Die Kommentatoren unterschätzen meist den Einfluß der atl. Totenerweckungserzählungen von

[66] For comments about Jesus and Elisha in the gospels generally see Brown, 'Jesus and Elisha'; Bostock, 'Jesus as the New Elisha'; Brodie, 'Jesus as the New Elisha: Cracking the Code'; Blenkinsopp, 'Miracles: Elisha and Hanina Ben Dosa', 58.

[67] Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten', 83.

[68] Brodie, *The Crucial Bridge*; Roth, *Hebrew Gospel*; Winn, *Mark and the Elijah-Elisha Narrative*.

[69] Brown, 'Jesus and Elisha', 98.

[70] Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten', 84.

[71] Roth, *Hebrew Gospel*, 38–39.

[72] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.308-313.

[73] 'A direct literary dependence cannot be detected.' Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.212.

Elija und Elischa auf Entstehung und Ausformulierung der Erzählung von Jairi Töchterlein."[74] The exception to this neglect is a 1993 study by Timothy Dwyer which argues that Mark 5:21-43 is a "midrashic" reworking of the Elijah and Elisha resurrection stories.[75] Dwyer makes some useful observations connecting the passages.

1) All three stories are of a child being raised from the dead in a room (1 Kgs 17:9; 2 Kgs 4:33; Mark 5:40).
2) Both Jairus and the Shunamite woman fall at the feet of the prophet (2 Kgs 4:27; Mark 5:22).
3) Jesus departs with Jairus (Mark 5:24) just as Elisha departs with the Shunamite (2 Kgs 4:30).
4) Just as Jesus is apparently unaware of who touched him (Mark 5:31), Elisha is unaware of the death of the Shunamite's son (2 Kings 4:27).
5) In all three stories there is a response of awe (Mark 5:42, 1 Kings 17:24, 2 Kings 4:37).

To those initial observations I would add that in all three stories each prophet deals with a corpse without any indication that this raises purity issue for him. Additionally, Beavis notes the three miracles are all performed in private.[76]

Josephus does not mention Elisha's resuscitation miracle in his account of Elisha (*Ant.* 9 §28-185). Eve suggests Josephus did not see the Elisha resurrection story as relevant to the political and military affairs which were most interesting to his Greco-Roman readers.[77] However, that does not explain the inclusion of the resuscitation story in Josephus' account of Elijah. It seems more likely that Josephus omitted the second resuscitation as repetitious. Collins notes that in Josephus' retelling of 1 Kgs 17:17-24 (*Ant.* 8.13.3 §325-27) Elisha's stretching and breathing are omitted and that these actions are also not present in Mark 5:21-

[74] 'The commentators underestimate the influence of the OT resurrection narratives of Elijah and Elisha on the formation and formulation of the story of Jairus' daughter.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.298.

[75] Timothy Dwyer, 'Prominent Women, Widows, and Prophets: A Case for Midrashic Intertextuality', *Essays in Literature* 20 (1993): 23–30.

[76] Beavis, 'The Resurrection of Jephthah's Daughter', 54.

[77] Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 35–37.

43.[78] Another correspondence between the resurrection accounts of *Ant.* 8 §325-27 and Mark 5:21-43 is the prophet encouraging the supplicant parent (Mark 5:36; cf. *Ant.* 8 §326, ὁ δὲ παρεκελεύετο θαρρεῖν).

Nevertheless, because 2 Kgs 4:18-37 contains a journey narrative as well as a resurrection it bears a much closer resemblance to Mark 5:21-43 than does 1 Kgs 17:17-24. Also, thematically both Mark 5:21-43 and 2 Kgs 4:18-37 present a woman as a paradigm of effective faith, over and against the non-prophetic men in the story, a theme which is absent from 1 Kgs 17:17-24.[79]

Hartman notes that both the healing of Naaman in 2 Kgs 5:11 (LXX) and Mark 5:23 use ἐπιτίθημι, and suggests Jairus' request for Jesus to touch his daughter evokes Elijah and Elisha.[80] Both Elijah and Elisha touch the deceased in their resurrection miracles. However, France's observation that the laying on of hands is a "natural gesture of healing"[81] (e.g. Mark 1:31, 41; 6:5; 7:32; 8:23; 25) argues that this detail is not distinctive.[82]

Thus, Elisha's resurrection miracle presents as a significant parallel to the raising of Jairus' daughter. Analysis of the detail of the story, especially in the LXX, reveals further correspondences.

### *§5.6.1 Lexical Correspondences*

1) Both the Shunamite and the Haemorrhaging Woman are presented as having "knowledge" (γινώσκω, 2 Kgs 4:9; Mark 5:29).[83] (The Shunamite's knowledge that

[78] Collins, *Mark*, 277.

[79] For this point on Mark see Collins, *Mark*, 284.

[80] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 219–20; also Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 295.

[81] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 236.

[82] See also Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 222.

[83] The woman's knowledge should be contrasted to the professional and esoteric knowledge of the doctors and folk healers which has failed her; Martin Fassnacht, 'Das Verhältnis von Wissen und Rettung dargestellt an der Wundergeschichte Mk 5,21-43', in *Die Weisheit – Ursprünge und Rezeption: Festschrift für Karl Löning zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Fassnacht, A. Leinhäupl-Wilke, and S. Lücking, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 44 (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2003), 106.

Elisha is ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιος, is also reminiscent of the unclean spirit's declaration of Mark 1:24, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεου.)

2) Both Jesus and Elisha enter (εἰσπορεύομαι) the room where the miracle will take place (2 Kgs 4:10; Mark 5:40).
3) Elisha says the Shunamite has ἐξέστησας ἡμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν ἔκστασιν (2 Kgs 4:13) while the witnesses to the girl's resurrection are ἐξέστησαν [εὐθὺς] ἐκστάσει μεγάλη (Mark 5:42); the pattern of aorist active verb followed by singular cognate noun in Mark could be a reflection of the same in 2 Kings.
4) The Shunamite woman repeatedly states "peace" (εἰρήνη/ שלום) against the reality of the situation (2 Kgs 4:23, 26) and the prophet is concerned that she and her family have peace (2 Kgs 4:26 [x3]).[84] There also is possible wordplay on שלום in MT 4:28 where she instructs the prophet "do not mislead (hiphil of שלה) me" or, as John Gray argues, "'cause to be at ease', i.e. lull into complacency, a *hapax legomenon* in this sense in the Old Testament."[85] Jesus bids the haemorrhaging woman to ὕπαγε εἰς εἰρήνην (depart in(to) peace, Mark 5:34). This is the only use of εἰρήνη in Mark.
5) The Shunamite woman is twice described at Elisha's feet, 2 Kgs 4:27 (ἐπελάβετο τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ) and 4:37 (ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν). The first time is in supplication. The second is after the healing, presumably in gratitude. Jairus puts himself at Jesus' feet in supplication (Mark 5:22, πίπτει πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ). The woman falls before Jesus after she is healed (Mark 5:33, προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ).
6) Less directly, in the related story of Elisha's post-mortem performance of a resurrection miracle (2 Kgs 13:20-21) we find both the words ἅπτω and ἀνίστημι (2 Kgs 13:21).The word ἅπτω appears four times in Mark 5:21-43 (27, 28, 30, 31) out of a total of 11 times in Mark. The theme of "touch" is also conveyed by other words in Mark 5:23 (ἐπιθῇς τὰς χεῖρας), 24 & 31 (συνθλίβω), 41 (κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου). The word ἀνίστημι is used in Mark 5:42 for the girl's resurrection.

[84] 'In Hebrew the exchange is dominated by the term shalom.' So, Walter Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings*, SHBC (Macon, Ga.: Smyth & Helwys, 2000), 323.

[85] Gray, *I & II Kings*, 498; also HALOT 1503-4.

### *§5.6.2 Narrative Correspondences*

1) Both women also show faith in seeking out the prophet despite the impediment provided by others (2 Kgs 4:23, 30; Mark 5:24, 27).[86]
2) In both stories a parent goes to find a prophet to heal their child (2 Kgs 4:22-25; Mark 5:22).
3) Both the Shunamite's husband and Jairus' people try to dissuade the interceding parent from bothering the prophet (2 Kgs 4:23; Mark 5:35).[87]
4) In both stories the father and mother feature, although admittedly the mother is only briefly referred to in Mark 5:40; however, the insignificance of the mother's presence to the Markan narrative may suggest that she was only included for a reason ulterior to the narrative *per se*, that is, to further connect the episode to the Elisha story.
5) The assumption that the woman in the crowd is barren also resonates with the earlier section of the Elisha narrative where the Shunnamite is revealed to be barren (2 Kgs 4:14).

### *§5.6.3 Thematic Inversion*

The Shunamite's false declarations of peace (2 Kgs 4:23, 26) prior to the healing are thematically and chronologically inverted in Jesus' (true) declaration of peace to the haemorrhaging woman after she is healed (Mark 5:34).

Jesus appears to heal the woman without his own volition or consent (Mark 5:30). This inverts the actions of Gehazi, who, on Elisha's instructions, attempts a miracle using Elisha's staff and this fails (2 Kings 4:29, 31).[88] This is both a failure of Gehazi but also of Elisha, whose staff and instructions are not sufficient.[89] Thus Jesus' involuntary healing thematically

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[86] Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings*, 328; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 498; M. E. Glasswell, 'The Use of Miracles in the Markan Gospel', in *Miracles*, ed. C. F. D. Moule (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co, 1965), 157.

[87] Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings*, 323.

[88] 'This is an extraordinary act of self-confidence on the part of the prophet. But it does not work!' So, Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings*, 324.

[89] In Jewish tradition this was attributed to Gehazi's lack of faith and improper conduct towards the Shunamite woman, Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 4.243.

inverts Elisha's attempt to heal the Shunamite's son via Gehazi and his staff. These both take place at equivalent points in the structure of their surrounding narratives.[90]

### *§5.6.4 More Tenuous Affinities*

For the sake of completeness the following are mentioned but are not significant enough to strengthen the argument.

Elisha asks the Shunamite if he can speak to the king or the commander of the force (τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς δυνάμεως) on her behalf (2 Kgs 4:13). Jairus is repeatedly referred to as the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Mark 5:22, 35, 36, 38).

Elisha's remark τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὡς ἡ ὥρα ζῶσα (2 Kgs 4:16)[91] is reminiscent of Jesus' proclamation in Mark 1:15, πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρός.

### *§5.6.5 Unique Indicators*

The expression ἐξέστησαν [εὐθὺς] ἐκστάσει μεγάλη (Mark 5:42) is especially important in the way that it corresponds to ἐξέστησας ἡμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν ἔκστασιν in 2 Kgs 4:13. The phrase is of the same cognate accusative construction as ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν in Mark 4:41, which was so significant for connecting Mark 4:35-41 to Jonah 1 in §3, above. There is no similar phrase elsewhere in the NT.

The phrase of 2 Kgs 4:13 is also distinctive. It is the only positive use of a cognate accusative construction on ἐξίστημι in the LXX.[92] The underlying Hebrew phrase, חרדת אלינו את כל החרדה

[90] Elisha's post-mortem resurrection miracle is a further example of an automatic miracle. Because the prophet is dead he cannot be said to have performed a miracle, yet it is through the prophet's personal holiness that his bones have such an effect. Others have noted how 2 Kgs 13:21 informs a reading of Mark 5:25-36 that does not require a background of Hellenistic magical practice. See Candida R. Moss, 'The Man with the Flow of Power: Porous Bodies in Mark 5:25–34', *JBL* 129, no. 3 (2010): 510–11; Gundry, *Mark*, 280, 359.

[91] Which NETS renders "at this season, as the time is ripe."

[92] LXX Ezekiel 26:16; 32:10 use ἐκστάσει ἐκστήσονται and 27:35 uses ἐκστάσει ἐξέστησαν. However, this is in a very different context of judgement and wrath. It describes negative fear and

הזאת, (2 Kgs 4:13) is based on the word חרד meaning to tremble, fear. But within the context of 2 Kings, it is usually translated with a more positive connotation as "care".[93] This use of חרד is itself unique as all its other uses are with a negative sense of fear and trembling.[94]

Thus in 2 Kings 4:13, "astonished with great astonishment" is lexically distinctive in both the MT and LXX. Although the internal narrative coherence is not strong, thematically it suits Mark's agenda that rather than the prophet being "amazed with amazement" (as in 2 Kgs 4:13) it should be the witnesses to Jesus' power who are (Mark 5:42). Thus ἐξέστησαν ἐκστάσει μεγάλη in Mark 5:42 functions as a unique indicator of Mark's intent to allude to 2 Kings 4:8-37.

A second strong indicator is provided by εἰρήνη in Mark 5:34. While a common word in the LXX, its distinctiveness as a Markan *hapax*, the narrative correspondence (appearing in a similar position in both narratives) and the clustering of the term (x4 in 2 Kings 4:23-26; also verb שלה in MT 4:28) all argue for its significance. In particular we see a thematic inversion from the Shunamite, falsely giving and claiming peace, to Jesus, genuinely giving peace. Both these thematic inversions suit the Markan *Überbietungsmotiv* identified by Pesch.

### *§5.6.6 A Deliberate Reference*

These correspondences combine to create a compelling argument for a Markan typology. As others have observed, while Elisha (and Elijah) prayed before their resurrection miracles, Jesus does not but is shown simply commanding the girl to rise. Jesus is presented here as a type of Elisha performing a resurrection miracle as Elisha did, but in a greater way.

Rather than a disruptive insertion, the haemorrhaging woman is a vital part of Mark's strategy to echo the scriptural story of Elisha and the Shunamite woman. There are far more

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trembling as a result of witnessing punishment. ἐκστάσει ἐκστήσονται translates חרד in MT Ezek 26:16 but שער (suffer/bristle with horror) in MT Ezek 27:35; 32:10. There are no other occurrences of a cognate accusative construction on ἐξίστημι in the LXX.

[93] John Gray (*I & II Kings*, 495) remarks, 'We maintain that in this passage it means more than "to be careful" or even "to show anxious care" (EVV). It indicates a real fear of infringing the sanctity of the man of God.'

[94] With the exception of Num 33:24-25 where it is a place name. See Gen 27:33; 1 Sam 14:15; Prov 29:25; Isa 21:4; Jer 30:5; Ezek 26:16 and Dan 10:7.

connections with the woman in the crowd than there would be without her. The role of the Shunamite mother is played in different aspects by both Jairus (as a parent with a dead child) and the woman (as a woman who meets the prophet on the way). When we combine the observations of the scholars previously mentioned with my additional analysis we can see a remarkably comprehensive coverage of the details of the Elisha text by the Markan passage, especially from the point at which the story in 2 Kings becomes a healing story (from 4:18). This is shown in the table below.

Table: Plot Comparison of 2 Kgs 4:18-37 and Mark 5:21-43

| 2 Kgs 4 | | Mark 5 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | The son/child is older | 42 | Mention of girl's age |
| 19-20 | Son dies without knowledge of Father | 35 | Jairus informed daughter has died |
| 21 | Son laid in room | 40 | Girl laid in room |
| 22 | Journey to find Elisha | 22 | Implicit Jairus left house to find Jesus |
| 23 | Discouragement from bothering Elisha | 35 | Discouragement from bothering Jesus |
| 24-25 | Journey to find Elisha continued, mother desperate | 37-38, 22-23, 25-26 | Journey to daughter continued, Jairus and woman desperate |
| 26 | Do you have peace? | 34 | Go in peace |
| 27 | Grab hold of feet, supplication | 22 | Jairus at feet, supplication |
| 28 | Expression of doubt and fear | 36 | Exhortation to have faith |
| 29, 31 | Automatic healing attempted, fails | 27-29 | Automatic healing attempted, success |
| 30 | Mother goes with Elisha | 24 | Jairus goes with Jesus |
| 32 | Elisha enters room where child lies | 40 | Jesus enters room where child lies |
| 33 | Door closed, no witnesses | 40 | Parents, 3 disciples as only witnesses |
| 34 | Elisha touches mouth, eyes, hands | 41 | Jesus touches hand |
| 35 | Elisha walks about | 42 | The girl walks about |
| 36 | Elisha instructs mother | 43 | Jesus instructs witnesses |
| 37 | Mother falls at Elisha's feet after resurrection | 33 | Woman falls before Jesus after healing |

It seems clear then, that an allusion to 2 Kings 4:18-37 has been made by Mark in the intercalated stories of Jairus' daughter and the woman with the flow of blood. Moreover, this reference is sustained, multifaceted, and evident in both intercalated stories together. While the Jairus story on its own would be sufficient to make the connection, the addition of the woman in the crowd creates further important resonances. Such a strong narrative coherence, combined with two significant lexical indicators, argues that Mark intends his readers to recognise the allusion and to interpret the two Jesus stories in the light of the Elisha story.

## §5.7 Reading Mark 5:21-43 with 2 Kgs 4:18-37

I have argued for a sustained and deliberate allusion to 2 Kings 4:18-37 in Mark 5:21-43. It now remains to show how such a reference might inform an interpretation of the passage.

### *§5.7.1 Was the Girl Really Dead?*

One ambiguity which the Elisha reference clears up is whether Mark intends us to understand that the girl was truly dead or, to take Jesus' words literally, just sleeping. For example, taking Jesus' words in Mark 5:39 literally, Murcia argues,

> La présence d'un mort dans une demeure juive la rendait provisoirement impure. La détermination de Jésus et le simple fait qu'il pénètre malgré tout dans la maison vont dans le même sens: ils illustrent le fait que Jésus est intimement convaincu - ainsi quil le dit - que la jeune fille n'est pas réellement morte.[95]

Apart from the parental judgement that she was at the point of death (Mark 5:23, ἐσχάτως ἔχει), and the presence of active mourners,[96] she must be dead in order for this miracle to parallel Elisha's resurrection of the Shunamite's son. Of course the speculative and elaborate theories as to whether the girl was really in a coma or was suffering hysterical paralysis due to upcoming nuptials are not thereby vitiated, as they are attempting to rationalise the miracle and create a naturalistic historical explanation for the story.[97] However, such rationalisation is no use to determining Mark's meaning. Rather, as Gnilka argues, "redet Jesus als der Gottessohn, für den der Tod nur Schlaf bedeutet."[98] The sustained allusion to 2 Kgs 4:18-37 shows that Mark's intention is to show Jesus raising Jairus' daughter from death in parallel to

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[95] 'The presence of a dead man in a Jewish home made her temporarily impure. The determination of Jesus and the simple fact that he enters the house nevertheless go in the same direction: they illustrate the fact that Jesus is deeply convinced - as he says - that the girl is not really dead.' Murcia, 'La question du fond historique des récits évangéliques', 135.

[96] 'The death of the girl has become known and the mourning has begun around her.' Wrede, *Messianic Secret*, 50; also Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 300; Stein, *Mark*, 273.

[97] For a summary of discussion see Arie W. Zwiep, 'Jairus, His Daughter and the Haemorrhaging Woman (Mk 5.21-43; Mt. 9.18-26; Lk. 8.40-56): Research Survey of a Gospel Story about People in Distress', *CBR* 13, no. 3 (2015): 357–58. For a particularly sustained and creative speculation on the subject see Derrett, 'Mark's Technique: The Haemorrhaging Woman and Jairus' Daughter', 481–85; or Murcia, 'La question du fond historique des récits évangéliques', 136–47.

[98] 'Jesus speaks as the Son of God, for whom death means only sleep.' Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.217.

Elijah and, in particular, Elisha. This further strengthens the arguments made elsewhere that Jairus' daughter is portrayed as having died.[99]

### *§5.7.2 Jesus and Uncleanness*

Much like the preceding story of the Gerasene demoniac, despite the many signals for uncleanness in the text, neither Jesus, nor the narrator, nor the recipients of salvation show any concern for ritual purity.[100] As Brigitte Kahl writes,

> Zwar verwendet er mit Begriffen wie *Blutfluß, Quelle des Blutes, berühren,* Schlüsselterminologie aus Lev 12 und 15. Umso erstaunlicher ist, daß der für Lev 12-15 eigentlich zentrale terminologische Bezug auf Reinheit/Unreinheit in Mk 5, 21ff mit keiner Silbe auch nur angedeutet wird. Die Krankheit der Frau wird ausschließlich in den Kategorien von Leiden, Ausweglosigkeit und sukzessiver Verarmung geschildert, ihre Heilung durch Jesus als Rettung von einer Plage und Gesundwerden beschrieben. Jeglicher Hinweis auf den kultischen Begriffsbereich des Reinheitskodex fehlt.[101]

Instead Jesus' "touch communicates holiness and restoration to life."[102] This, as noted above, is also a feature of the Elijah and Elisha narratives where they too show no concern about

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[99] Collins, *Mark*, 285; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 223; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 234; Chou, 'Parole et Silence', 368; Stein, *Mark*, 273; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.308.

[100] Certainly, in comparison with Mark 2:1-12 and 3:1-6, it should be evident that the stories of Mark 5:21-43 do not form a polemic against Jewish purity regulations or their interpretation by the Pharisees and scribes. Such concerns are not remotely in view in the narrative. So, Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Gender and Power in the Gospel of Mark: The Daughter of Jairus and the Woman with the Flow of Blood', in *Miracles in Jewish and Christian Antiquity: Imagining Truth*, ed. John C. Cavadini, Notre Dame Studies in Theology 3 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 97.

[101] 'To be sure, [Mark] uses terms such as blood flow, the source of the blood, touch, key terminology from Leviticus 12 and 15. It is all the more astonishing that there is not even a hint of a syllable of the central terminology of purity / impurity for Leviticus 12-15 in Mark 5:21ff. The illness of the woman is described exclusively in the categories of suffering, hopelessness and chronic impoverishment, describing her healing through Jesus as salvation from a plague and recovery. Any reference to the cultic domain of the Code of Purity is missing.' So Brigitte Kahl, 'Jairus und die verlorenen Töchter Israels: Sozioliterarische Überlegungen zum Problem der Grenzüberschreitung in Mk 5, 21-43', in *Von Der Wurzel Getragen: Christlich-Feministische Exegese in Auseinandersetzung Mit Antijudaismus*, ed. Luise Schottroff and Marie-Theres Wacker, Biblical Interpretation 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 66.

[102] Boring, *Mark*, 162. Also Moss, 'The Man with the Flow of Power', 516–17.

corpse uncleanness. Indifference towards sources of uncleanness when channelling the power of God in a miracle is not an innovation of Jesus but has precedent in the miracle narratives of Elijah and Elisha.

Consequently, another possible interpretation of Jesus' often discussed remark that the girl is not dead but "sleeping" can be read as a dismissal of purity concerns, rather than of the seriousness of her condition. Sleeping people are not unclean. If she had been dead, touching her would have rendered Jesus temporarily unclean, at least in the eyes of the public. By asserting that she is merely somnolent and not deceased Jesus sidesteps external purity concerns which might otherwise inhibit his ministry.

### *§5.7.3 The Cause of the Woman's Illness*

Mark's choice of the word μάστιξ to describe the woman's affliction may imply a personal cause of the illness. As noted above, Watts suggests that it may imply divine punishment.[103] Alternatively, Kathleen Fisher makes an argument for a different personal cause, "The affliction is referred to as a *mastix* (castigation, whipping) in 5:29, 34 as if it were directly inflicted by Satan. The implication of the personal source of evil is also present in the description of the healing as 'saving' (i.e. from Satan) in 5:29, 34."[104] Within the Markan worldview, and especially his presentation of Jesus as victor over Satan (e.g. Mark 3:27; 5:1-20), Fisher's suggestion appears the more likely. In a complementary vein, Collins argues the mention of unclean spirits in Mark 3:11 implies the μάστιγαι of 3:10 are "caused by such spirits."[105]

However, it is questionable whether μάστιξ genuinely has this force when used of a disease. Collins' suggested connection seems unlikely, as those with μάστιγαι in 3:10 are described as pressing on and touching Jesus, while those with evil spirits fall down before him on sight (3:11). The two actions would seem to be mutually exclusive, and Mark is instead portraying Jesus' twofold ministry of healing and exorcism as he does in Mark 1:32-34 and 6:13. The healings and exorcisms are clearly related but distinct. Additionally, the use of μάστιξ in Luke 7:21 does not support the idea that it requires a personal source.

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[103] Watts, 'Jesus and the New Exodus Restoration of Daughter Zion', 20.

[104] Fisher, 'The Miracles of Mark 4:35 - 5:43', 14.

[105] Collins, *Mark*, 213.

Further clarity is given by recognising the Elisha allusion. In the Elisha account there is no suggestion of negative personal forces at work. The illness and death is simply described as happenstance with no blame apportioned. Therefore, recognising the connection to the Elisha narrative suggests that μάστιξ is not likely to imply a personal cause, whether of God or Satan.

### *§5.7.4 Jesus as Healer of Israel*

As Derrett notes, "The claim made on behalf of Jesus that he cured persons of whom doctors had despaired is not merely an artistic exaggeration: it places Jesus both among physicians and beyond them."[106] However, these healing stories do not only portray Jesus as a physician of individuals but also trigger a number of scriptural symbols. The repeated number twelve as well as other scriptural echoes identifies the females as representatives of Israel and Jesus as the healer of Israel.[107] This was the role of YHWH in the Jewsh scriptures and is part of both new exodus and sacred marriage paradigms (e.g. Isa 57:19; Hos 6:1-3). Yet it is also the role of Elisha, whose ministry to Israel "gradually manifests the Lord's sovereignty."[108] As the prophet Elisha purified a spring and a stew pot (2 Kgs 2:19-22; 4:38-41), fed the hungry (4:42-44; 7:1-2), protected the nation (3:4-27; 6:8-23; 13:14-21), brought gentiles into fellowship (5:1-19; 6:8-23), protected the widow and the foreigner (4:1-7; 8:1-6), healed the barren and the sick and raised the dead (4:8-37; 5:1-19), he represented the restorative presence of God among his people. Jesus likewise has a ministry of purification, feeding, justice, Gentile inclusion, healing and resurrection. He is thus presented as the healer of God's people.

There is a further possible significance to Jesus being represented specifically as the healer of *Israel* in imitation of Elisha. Within Mark's three sequential miracles (Mark 4:35-5:43) we have seen Jesus represented as the Galilean prophet Jonah (Mark 4:35-41; §3) and as the Judean prophet-exorcist-King David (Mark 5:1-20). Because the scriptural Elisha ministered in Israel, the northern kingdom, the addition of an Elisha typology to the miracle catena

[106] Derrett, 'Mark's Technique' Daughter', 481.

[107] See, e.g., Watts, 'Jesus and the New Exodus Restoration of Daughter Zion', 19, 22–23.

[108] Roth, *Hebrew Gospel*, 11.

includes the totality of God's historic people in Jesus' typological ministry. As a type of Elisha, Jesus both heals and reunites God's people.

### *§5.7.5 Jesus and the Gentiles*

A distinctive feature of Elisha's ministry in 2 Kings is the two positive miraculous interactions with Gentiles, the healing of Naaman (5:1-27) and the sparing and feeding of the blinded Aramean army (6:20-23). The Shunamite is presumably an Israelite, although the remark in 4:13, "I live among my own people," may indicate otherwise. Shunem was in the north of Israel within the region later known as Galilee.[109] No specific location is given for Mark 5:21-43.

Having established the Elisha typology in Mark 5:21-43, Jesus' healing of a Gentile woman's daughter in Mark 7:24-30 is also reminiscent of Elisha's healing of Naaman. Likewise, Jesus' leading of the blind man out of the village before restoring his sight in Mark 8:22-26 is reminiscent of the blinded Arameans. The theme of Elisha healing and saving Gentiles is thus complementary to the earlier noted theme of Jonah's mission to the Gentiles and Jesus' saving of a Gentile demoniac, as well as the positive examples of Gentile faith in Mark (Mark 7:24-30, 31-37; 15:39).

### *§5.7.6 Jesus' Knowledge*

Echoing Elisha's lack of awareness of the plight of the Shunamite's son, Jesus expresses ignorance of who it was that touched him and received the power which went out of him. Ernst Haenchen is able to suggest that, "hat sie doch die Heilung quasi gestohlen!"[110] However, in contrast to Elisha's ignorance about the Shunamite's son, Jesus is aware of the status of Jairus' daughter. This creates a considerable irony and intensifies the discontinuity between the intercalated stories. The two stories in Mark 5:21-43 do not appear to agree on

[109] Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings*, 323; Volkmar Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, trans. Anselm Hagedorn, Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2003), 250.

[110] 'She virtually stole the healing!' Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 207.

whether Jesus has "knowledge" or not.[111] However, rather than blaming God for not revealing who touched him, as Elisha blames God for keeping the Shunamite's son's death from him, Jesus' question allows the woman to reveal and explain herself. As Chou plausibly suggests, "la question qui suit n'est pas l'expression d'une véritable ignorance de la part de Jésus . . . la question de Jésus est une vraie « fausse question » qui, sous son apparente banalité, fait signe vers autre chose, un procédé pédagogique qui doit amener la femme a une prise de parole."[112]

Furthermore, his subsequent knowledge of Jairus' daughter and somewhat dissembling comment that she is only sleeping, suggests that his earlier ignorance should not be taken at face value.[113] Either the irony renders the two portrayals of Jesus inconsistent, or the stories are allowed to interpret the ambiguities in each other. It is more credible that Mark intended the stories to interpret each other in a way favourable to Jesus than that he did not notice the irony.

Comparing the Markan account with that of Elisha raises a further question. When Jesus asks, "who touched me?" this could be read as Jesus not having knowledge (i.e. an expression of ignorance) or as Jesus withholding from the crowd the knowledge the reader knows he has, just as God withheld knowledge from Elisha (2 Kgs 4:27). In literary context the preceding two episodes have established Jesus' absolute power and authority over both the created world and spiritual forces (Mark 4:35-5:20). It goes against the grain to then suggest that Mark's Jesus has power stolen from him by an impoverished woman touching him against his will.[114] If Jesus can conquer a legion of demons can this sick woman plunder him so easily?

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[111] On the ambiguity around Jesus' knowledge in Mark as a whole see Marcus, 'Identity and Ambiguity in Markan Christology', 140–43.

[112] 'The question that follows is not the expression of true ignorance on the part of Jesus. . . the question of Jesus is a true "false question" which, under its apparent banality, signifies something else, a pedagogical process that will lead the woman to speech.' Chou, 'Parole et Silence', 377.

[113] Indeed, *Catena in Marcum* §320 takes the completely opposite meaning to be the case, 'But it is necessary to say in addition why the Saviour says "who touched me?" about the woman with a haemorrhage. This was in order that you may perceive that she received salvation from him willingly and not involuntarily. For he knew that the woman had touched him. And he asked in order that he might identify the woman who came forward, and that he might publicise her faith, and that the power which had been worked might not escape notice.' Trans. Lamb, *The Catena in Marcum*, 288.

[114] For a learned exploration of such a reading see Moss, 'The Man with the Flow of Power'.

Rather the reader is expected to assume that Jesus is in control of the situation and his question then reveals not ignorance and his own victimisation but his compassionate engagement with the woman in the crowd. Jesus' comment in Mark 13:32 regarding eschatological timing, does not apply to this situation, as it is clear that Jesus knows what is in people's hearts (Mark 2:6-8; 14:18, 30).[115]

Again, this conclusion is reinforced by the recognition of an Elisha typology. Elisha could read thoughts and know distant and secret events (2 Kgs 5:26; 6:12).[116] His failure to do so in 2 Kgs 4:27 is an anomaly which requires an explanation. Elisha attributes it to God's deliberate withholding of knowledge, demonstrating that Elisha's ability is dependent on God. In the Markan miracle there is no such explanation for the anomaly, leaving the reader to construct their explanation from evidence of the earlier episodes.

### *§5.7.7 Jesus as Greater than Elisha*

Roth writes,

> To the detailed series of Elisha's actions done in the privacy of the prophet's chamber there corresponds the comparatively effortless and public activity of Jesus, climaxed in a command. Jesus' revival of the child demonstrates that he is more powerful than Elisha – evidently a qualitative heightening of the scriptural model.[117]

We can say more than this. When the two intercalated stories are considered as a unit and then compared to 2 Kgs 4:18-37, a structural correspondence between the healing of the woman and the failed healing attempted by Gehazi can be observed. Gehazi, on Elisha's orders, attempts an automatic healing. He does not pray or expect to perform the miracle himself. Instead, he conveys Elijah's staff, an inanimate mundane object, which only by association with the prophet acts as a container for some of the prophet's authority and power. However, such an approach reveals that Elisha's power is not sufficient to work in this way. The miracle is too great for the staff, and therefore Elisha cannot heal in this way, either through the object or at a distance. The account of the woman touching Jesus' clothing to be healed thus shows Jesus as greater than Elisha (Mark 5:27-29). Likewise, the account of the

[115] For a similar argument see Keith Warrington, *The Miracles in the Gospels* (Peabody Mass.: Hendrickson, 2015), 88.

[116] Bostock, 'Jesus as the New Elisha', 41.

[117] Roth, *Hebrew Gospel*, 8.

healing of the Syrophoenician's daughter at distance (Mark 7:24-30) invites the same comparison with the same result.

This episode prepares us for Mark 6:6b-13 when Jesus will send out his disciples (with a staff, 6:8) to heal and cast out unclean spirits. They are, of course successful (although they will not be in 9:18) and so, whereas Elisha's sending of his servant failed, Jesus' sending of his disciples successfully sees his power and authority manifested through them.

### *§5.7.8 Jesus, Prayer, and Divinity*

As we have noted with the preceding episodes, Jesus does not pray before performing miracles. Instead, others are shown beseeching him. When contrasted with the Elijah and Elisha stories, the lack of prayer is even more evident. Boring observes, "As elsewhere, the Synoptic miracle stories have some affinities with the Elijah and Elisha stories . . . there is an obvious contrast: Jesus does not pray, engages in no rituals, has no 'technique'. . ."[118] Likewise, Pesch remarks, "Jesus bedarf weder des Gebets noch umständlicher Manipulation zur Erweckung des Mädchens."[119] The Elisha resurrection account describes Elisha as praying (2 Kgs 4:33, προσηύξατο πρὸς κύριον). The parallel Elijah miracle goes into far more detail:[120]

> He cried out to the LORD, "O LORD my God, have you brought calamity even upon the widow with whom I am staying, by killing her son?" (1 Kgs 17:20, NRSV)

In his retelling Josephus elaborates even further:

> He cried out to God, "It is not good to repay welcome and nourishment by taking away her son." He begged God to again send the soul into the child and to grant him life. (*Ant.* 8 §326, Author's Trans.)

This emphasis on the prayer of Elijah and Elisha, and the amplification of that prayer in Josephus' Elijah account demonstrate both the piety of the prophets concerned and their dependence on God for the miracle.[121] This is especially important in Elisha's case where

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[118] Boring, *Mark*, 162.

[119] 'Jesus needs neither prayer nor cumbersome manipulation to awaken the girl.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.310.

[120] Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 252.

[121] Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 251–52.

God has been blamed for the prophet's lack of knowledge (2 Kgs 4:27) and possibly for his having been prevented from curing the boy at an earlier stage. By comparison the absence of prayer in Mark's account is startling.

There is no indication that Jesus requires prayer for his power. In fact this is reinforced by the healing of the woman in the crowd. If we follow Derrett's suggestion that the woman's touching of Jesus' garment might evoke taking refuge with the deity,[122] the impression is compounded in what follows. As Boring observes, divine power comes *out* of Jesus not *through* him.[123] Chou suggests that the passive forms of ξηραίνω (to dry up) and ἰάομαι (to heal) might be indicative of divine action.[124] While it is not certain that the divine passive is intended here, such a suggestion certainly fits with the rest of the narrative. Moss observes that the woman's response of fear and trembling (Mark 5:33) is a standard response to theophany/epiphany in both biblical and Greek traditions.[125] The faith for which the woman was commended was not faith in God, who is not mentioned, but faith in Jesus. The power she received came not from heaven but from Jesus' body. Jesus is the source of power and divinity in this story.

Boring states that "Mark's dialectic of humanity and divinity are woven into this story too."[126] An important strand of this weaving is that the healing of the woman in the crowd is already preparing the reader to perceive Jesus as a source of divine power before he heals Jairus' daughter without prayer. By presenting Jesus as a type of Elisha Mark also presents Jesus as someone unlike Elisha, because Elisha needed to pray to perform miracles. Rather, Jesus is portrayed as a recipient of people's petitions and a source of divine power. In this way he is both prophet and divinity.

[122] Discussed in §5.5 above, Derrett, 'Mark's Technique', 497; see also Halton, 'An Indecent Proposal', 35.

[123] Boring, *Mark*, 160; Also Moss, 'The Man with the Flow of Power', 510.

[124] Chou, 'Parole et Silence', 376.

[125] Moss, 'The Man with the Flow of Power', 518; also Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 222.

[126] Boring, *Mark*, 160.

### *§5.7.9 A Typological Intercalation*

Accepting that it is most likely that the two stories of this passage were originally separate, the recognition of an Elisha typology suggests a strong reason for the stories being combined by Mark. If we were to separate the two stories they would still have some strong parallels to the Elisha miracles. But for Mark's typological agenda, their combination created a more satisfactory imitation of the narrative structure of 2 Kgs 4:18-37.[127] In particular the highly significant exchange between the Shunamite woman and Elisha, away from the home, is alluded to by the encounter between Jesus and the woman in the crowd. To ensure his intent is appreciated by the discerning reader both stories contain an identifier too subtly but decisively link them back to the Elisha story.[128]

## §5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the suggested scriptural backgrounds for Mark 5:21-43. The story of Jephthah's daughter, and the scriptural themes of new exodus and the sacred marriage, may well be present in the passage. However, I have argued that there is a far greater correspondence between the Markan passage and 2 Kgs 4:18-37 than any other scriptural text or theme. This correspondence was argued to be deliberate by the discovery of two unique lexical indicators from the scriptural text. Subsequently, some interpretive possibilities opened up by this connection have been outlined demonstrating that this would have been a meaningful connection for Mark to make. Significantly, in this third miracle of the sequence of three (Mark 4:35-5:43), the pattern of typological correspondence and escalation, observed in the preceding two episodes, has been clearly maintained.

[127] For possible scriptural influence on other Markan intercalations see §7.2.3 and my discussion of Deborah Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21: The Divine Authorization of Judgement', in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 235–48.

[128] See §5.6.5 above.

## §6 Shepherd, Moses, and Elisha Typology in Mark 6:30-44 and 8:1-10

> *This is the rule for the overseer of a camp. He must teach the general membership about the works of God, instruct them in his mighty miracles, relate to them future events coming to the world with their interpretations; he should care for them as a father does his children, taking care of all their problems as a shepherd does for his flock.* (CD XIII:7-9)

Mark 6:30-44

30 Καὶ συνάγονται οἱ ἀπόστολοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησαν καὶ ὅσα ἐδίδαξαν. 31 καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· δεῦτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε ὀλίγον. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ὑπάγοντες πολλοί, καὶ οὐδὲ φαγεῖν εὐκαίρουν. 32 Καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰς ἔρημον τόπον κατ᾽ ἰδίαν. 33 καὶ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν πολλοὶ καὶ πεζῇ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ καὶ προῆλθον αὐτούς. 34 Καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἶδεν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ὅτι ἦσαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς πολλά. 35 Καὶ ἤδη ὥρας πολλῆς γενομένης προσελθόντες αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἔρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος καὶ ἤδη ὥρα πολλή· 36 ἀπόλυσον αὐτούς, ἵνα ἀπελθόντες εἰς τοὺς κύκλῳ ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας ἀγοράσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς τί φάγωσιν. 37 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἀπελθόντες ἀγοράσωμεν δηναρίων διακοσίων ἄρτους καὶ δώσομεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν; 38 ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· πόσους ἄρτους ἔχετε; ὑπάγετε ἴδετε. καὶ γνόντες λέγουσιν· πέντε, καὶ δύο ἰχθύας. 39 καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλῖναι πάντας συμπόσια συμπόσια ἐπὶ τ�ῳ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ. 40 καὶ ἀνέπεσαν πρασιαὶ πρασιαὶ κατὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα. 41 καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς [αὐτοῦ][1] ἵνα παρατιθῶσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἐμέρισεν πᾶσιν. 42 καὶ ἔφαγον πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, 43 καὶ ἦραν κλάσματα δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων. 44 καὶ

(Author's trans.)

30 The apostles gathered to Jesus and announced to him all that they had done and taught. 31 And he said to them, "Come you, by yourselves into the wilderness place and rest a little." For so many were coming and going that they did not even have opportunity to eat. 32 And they left in the boat into the wilderness place by themselves. 33 And they saw them departing and many recognised and by foot from all the towns they ran there together and arrived before them. 34 And coming out [of the boat] he saw a large crowd and he had compassion upon them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd, and he began to teach them many things. 35 And by this time many hours had passed. His disciples came to him saying that "the place is wilderness and already the hour is late. 36 Dismiss them, so that they can depart into the surrounding fields and villages and buy themselves something to eat." 37 But he answered, saying to them, "You give them [something] to eat yourselves!" And they said to him, "Should we leave and buy two hundred denarii of bread and give it to them to eat?" 38 But he said to them, "How much bread do you have? Go and see!" And when they knew they said, "Five, and two fish." 39 And he commanded them all to recline dinner-party by dinner-party upon the green grass. 40 And they lay down garden-bed by garden-bed[3] in hundreds and fifties. 41 And taking the five loaves and the two fish he looked up into heaven, he blessed [the food], and he broke the bread and gave it to his disciples so they might set it before them. And the two fish he divided for all. 42 And all ate and were filled up. 43

[1] 'The weight of external evidence is rather evenly divided between the readings with and without αὐτοῦ. Normally Mark speaks of "his disciples," more rarely "the disciples."' Bruce M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 91. Either way, it refers to the same disciples.

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|---|---|
| ἦσαν οἱ φαγόντες [τοὺς ἄρτους][2] πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες. | And there was 12 baskets full of pieces and from the fish. 44 And there was five thousand men who ate [the bread]. |

## §6.1 Mark's Miraculous Meals

In previous chapters I have argued that Mark uses the miracle stories of Mark 4:35-41; 5:1-20 and 5:21-43 to relate Jesus typologically to particular scripture characters and narratives. This will continue to be the case in the feeding miracles. The walking on water (Mark 6:45-52), also discussed above, does not use scripture narrative in the same way, although it does allude to both LXX Job 9:8 and Exod 14. Significantly, in 4:35-41; 5:1-20 and 5:21-43 we encounter a *Christological twist* whereby Jesus is not just compared to human characters of scripture, but also assumes the role of Israel's God from those same scriptural stories. As I will argue, the pattern of scriptural narrative use and indication seen in 4:35-41; 5:1-20 and 5:21-43 appears modified in the Markan feeding miracles (6:30-44 and 8:1-10), but with enough similarities to suggest a consistent approach to typology across these miracle accounts.

The decisive hinge that holds the two halves of the Gospel of Mark together is Peter's declaration in Mark 8:29, "You are the Christ."[4] While the disciples' discovery of Jesus' identity has been, and will continue to be, an ongoing process of discovery, Peter's declaration marks a turning point. Once the "penny has dropped" that Jesus is the Christ, Jesus' instruction of the disciples will move on to suffering, rejection, death and resurrection

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[3] The significance and reason for this translation will become clear below, especially §6.5 and §6.9.1.

[2] '[E]xternal evidence is evenly divided between the witnesses that include the words τοὺς ἄρτους and those that omit them . . . From the point of view of transcriptional probabilities, it is more likely that copyists were tempted to delete than to add τοὺς ἄρτους, for the presence of these words raises awkward questions why "loaves" should be singled out with no mention of the fish.' Bruce M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New*, 92.

[4] Most scholars concur that the pericope of Caesarea Philippi represents the turning point that divides the Gospel into at least two major sections.' So Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, xxxvi; also James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1989), 47; Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 26; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.410.

(8:30).[5] So what precipitates Peter's acclamation and what particular understanding of the title "Christ" should we attribute to Peter?

Peter's conclusion that Jesus is the Christ (8:29) is arrived at after a sequence of miracles (4:35-8:26), in the first of which the disciples explicitly pose the question "who is this?" (4:41). Those miracles are presented as part of the ongoing process of revelation that is symbolically represented in the incremental healing of the blind man of Bethsaida (8:22-26).[6] Thus the goal of Jesus' teaching and miracles is for the disciples to "see everything clearly" (8:25). So France argues, "The medium of Jesus' gradual revelation is miracles."[7] The term *Christ*, denoting the Jewish hope of a messiah, is a partial cipher that needs further explication.[8] In the Gospel narrative the miracles inform the disciples of what, in part, it means for Jesus to be the Christ. The miracles' narration is to do the same for the reader.[9]

Not all miracles prior to Peter's declaration are directly focussed on Christology. Within Mark's narrative the healing of the deaf man and of the blind man (Mark 8:31-37, 22-26) are symbolic of discipleship.[10] The interaction with the Syro-Phoenecian Woman is focused on Gentile inclusion.[11] The two healings and the exorcism are all ordinary and unspectacular within the context of Jesus' ministry. They add nothing to the previous accounts of Jesus as a wonder worker, but use Jesus' works to illustrate other developing themes. That leaves the calming of the storm (4:35-41), the exorcism of Legion (5:1-20), the healing of Jairus'

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[5] One partcular clue to this is ἔρξατο διδάσκειν (Mark 8:31) which 'is not the normal Markan semitism but indicates a particular point of time at which for the first time the repeated teaching referred to by the διδάσκειν received a concrete content... Having at last got over to them the message that He is Messiah, He must now explain what kind of Messiah.' Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark', 103–4.

[6] Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 161; Joel Marcus, *Mark: 8-16*, 589; Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels*, 86–87; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.420.

[7] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 259.

[8] Boring, *Mark*, 248–49; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 609.

[9] Geert Van Oyen, *The Interpretation of the Feeding Miracles in the Gospel of Mark*, Collectanea Biblica et Religiousa Antiqua, IV (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Acaemie van België, 1999), vii.

[10] '[T]he Blind Man at Bethsaida . . . functions as a summary of Jesus' ministry for his disciples.' So Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, xxxvi–xxxvii; see also Boring, *Mark*, 233; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 597; *pace* Stein, *Mark*, 390–94.

[11] Boring, *Mark*, 208–9.

daughter and the haemorrhaging woman (5:21-43), the feeding of the five thousand (6:30-44), the walking on water (6:45-52) and the feeding of the four thousand (8:1-10). These miracles share in being more extended in description and more spectacular, and are without close parallel in Jesus' earlier or later ministry. This sequence of extraordinary acts of power leads up to Peter's Christological declaration.

There are other differences between the feedings and the earlier miracles which need to be taken into account. Mark 4:35-41; 5:1-20; 5:21-43 and 6:45-52 all take place in front of a small group of people but generate reactions of amazement or fear. On the other hand the feeding miracles take place in front of huge groups of people and yet no reaction is recorded. As Sandra Hübenthal observes "Dass dabei alle satt werden und sogar noch etwas übrigbleibt, wundert im Text niemanden: Keine der Erzählfiguren ist erstaunt oder lässt verlauten, so etwas noch nie gesehen zu haben - anders als etwa bei den Naturwundern."[12] Possibly, the implication is that only the disciples witness the miracle.[13] Yet they are sufficiently unimpressed by it that they still show concern when bread supplies are insufficient again, later in the Gospel (8:4, 16).

The first feeding miracle also contains a clear quotation of scripture "they were like sheep without a shepherd" (6:34). Such overt scripture use was conspicuous by its absence in the earlier miracles.

In the earlier miracles the dialogue focussed on the recipients of the miracles: the disciples (4:35-41), the demoniac (5:1-20), and Jairus and the woman in the crowd (5:21-43). This, with parents standing in for their children, is the pattern of miracle accounts throughout Mark. In the feeding miracles the crowd benefit from the miracle but the focus is on the dialogue between Jesus and the disciples.

Finally, Mark 4:35-41; 5:1-20; 5:21-43 and 6:45-52 all contain a sense of urgency and threat: the storm will overwhelm the boat, the demoniac may use his strength (cf. Matt 8:28), Jairus'

[12] 'No one wonders at the fact that everyone is full and something is even left over: none of the narrative figures are amazed or say they have never seen anything like that before – unlike, for example, the nature miracles.' Sandra Hübenthal, *Das Markusevangelium als kollectives Gedächtnis*, FRLANT 253 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 407; see also Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 103.

[13] Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 166.

daughter will die, etc. In 8:3 there is the possibility that some will "faint" (ἐκλύομαι) going home, but this does not imply that they will not reach home: ἐκλύομαι can equally be translated as become exhausted or weary.[14] In 6:36 even this danger is not apparent. In both feedings it is not the crowd but, "Es sind die Jünger, die immer wieder den Mangel an Nahrung wahrnehmen und kommunizieren."[15] While the former miracles were in response to dire human need, the first feeding appears to be more a response to Jesus' prior presentation in the role of compassionate "shepherd" (6:34). As Feneberg suggests, "Die Not wäre viel kleiner und jedenfalls nicht lebensbedrohlich gewesen."[16] Arguably, then, the Christological focus is even more acute because these miracles stem not from the situation at hand as much as Jesus' narrated messianic identity in relation to the gathered crowds.

That the feeding miracles are intended to be interpreted together is confirmed by Jesus' dialogue with the disciples in 8:14-21 as well as by numerous similarities between the accounts.[17] That these feeding miracles are a key to Jesus' identity is confirmed by the narrator's comment of 6:52, "they did not understand about the loaves",[18] and Jesus' words in 8:21, "Do you not yet understand?" In the first, the disciples' failure to understand the loaves left them unable to understand the walking on the water. In the second, while it is clear the disciples do not understand the meaning of the two feeding miracles, it is not immediately apparent what exactly it is they are consequently failing to understand (is it, e.g., the yeast of the Pharisees or Jesus' ability to produce bread miraculously?).

That said, the feeding miracles also connect strongly with the immediate narrative context, especially the preceding account of Herod's birthday banquet.[19] Additionally, the relation

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[14] BDAG, 306.

[15] 'It is the disciples who repeatedly notice and communicate the lack of food.' Hübenthal, *Das Markusevangelium als kollectives Gedächtnis*, 403.

[16] 'The need would have been much smaller and certainly not life threatening.' Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 156. He does, however, consider the later feeding in Mark 8:1-10 to be more urgent, 'viel dringlicher,' much worse, 'viel schlimmer,' and life threatening for some, 'für einige lebensgefährlich,' (ibid, 170).

[17] To be discussed in detail below, §6.6.

[18] "What Mark is criticising here is the lack of christological insight. He is implying that an acknowledgement of Jesus' Messiahship might already have been expected after the miracle of the loaves." So Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 169.

[19] See §6.3.

between the two feeding miracles must also be assessed. Therefore the treatment of the feeding miracles, while following the same approach as the previous chapter, will contain additional sections to properly situate the feeding miracles in the Markan context and towards each other.

## §6.2 Exploring the Conventions

Bultmann categorises the feedings as "nature miracle."[20] Perhaps more usefully, Theissen categorises them as "gift miracles."[21] Such gift miracles are characterised by spontaneity, i.e., the absence of a request, and with no account given of the actual mechanism, only the result.[22] Similar miracles in the Jewish scriptures are 1 Kgs 17:8-16; 2 Kgs 4:1-7, 42-44. All three of those miracles have elements in common with Jesus' feeding miracles, in particular, the use of limited resources which are then multiplied. However, 1 Kgs 17:8-16 and 2 Kgs 4:1-7 only benefit an individual and their family and appear to be private affairs. Only 2 Kgs 4:42-44 takes place in public and feeds a large group, like the Markan feedings. Further parallels with this text will be discussed in detail.[23]

Luke 5:1-11 is also comparable in character. In Luke 5:1-11 a large quantity of fish is produced, however it is not ready to eat, no one is fed, and the fish may have already been present in the water. That is, the fish themselves are not necessarily miraculous, only their behaviour in swimming into the net. Additionally, the symbolic meaning of the fish is made explicit within the narrative episode (5:10) and Simon Peter, James, and John respond accordingly (5:11), whereas in Mark 6:30-45 the symbolic meaning is not referred to until later (8:19-20) and the disciples (or at least Peter) do not respond until even later (8:29).

Collins suggests two Greco-Roman parallels to the feeding miracles. In Euripides, *Bacch.* 704-13, "a god provides his followers with water, wine, milk, and honey. These gifts are spontaneously given."[24] In Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 3.27, Apollonius comes across an Indian

[20] Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 217.

[21] Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 103–6; also Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.348.

[22] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 415; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.257.

[23] §6.7 below.

[24] Collins, *Mark*, 321.

village where magical tripods produced dried fruit, bread, vegetables, and dessert and wine and hot and cold water; also they apparently generated soft grass for reclining as they moved.[25] In comparison, Jesus' miracles serve humble fare indeed, and there is no indication that Jesus is responsible for the green grass, only that he instructs the people to recline upon it (5:39). Notably, neither of Collins' suggested parallels involve a human figure performing the miracle of abundant food. Instead they are performed by a power or divinity not described in the narrative. In comparison with the other works of power discussed in the previous chapters, there are no close Greco-Roman parallels to the feeding miracles. As I will show, they very much follow in the tradition of the Jewish scriptures. As Gnilka states regarding Mark 6:30-44: "Die vorliegende Speisungsgeschichte ist von mehreren alttestamentlichen Anspielungen und Motiven erfüllt, auf die in der Interpretation zu achten ist."[26]

David Sick argues that "neither Mark's audience nor the 5,000 or more diners would have been especially amazed that a large crowd had been fed."[27] Large feedings of public groups with bread, wine, and sometimes fish, were "a well known means of euergetism [i.e. public good works] in the Greco Roman world."[28] This might account for the surprising lack of reaction from the disciples or crowd regarding the miraculous feeding.[29] Sick argues at length that Mark 6:30-45 corresponds to the conventions of a publicly given Greco-Roman symposium. One Epaminondas is recorded as giving baskets of bread, wine and condiments, possibly fish relish, to male citizens of his town to celebrate the establishment of games (IG 7.2712). The rules of the cult of Diana and Antinous required wine, bread, sardines, table cloths, and warm water, to be distributed to its members for a feast six times a year (CIL 14.2112.2.11-13). Emperors Antiochus IV and Ptolemy II Philadephus both held opulent public feasts after grand processions (*Deipn.* 5.193d1-3; Polybius *Hist*. 5.195d).[30] Certainly, in the free distribution of food, outdoor setting and arrangement into smaller συμπόσια (Mark 6:39) the feeding miracle is reminiscent of a Greco-Roman public banquet. However, unlike

[25] Collins, *Mark*, 321–22.

[26] 'The present feeding story is filled with several Old Testament allusions and motifs, which should be taken into account in the interpretation.' Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 258.

[27] David H. Sick, 'The Symposium of the 5,000', *JTS* 66 (2015): 26.

[28] Sick, 'The Symposium of the 5,000', 1.

[29] For the lack of reaction see France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 268; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 256; Garland, *Mark*, 256.

[30] Sick, 'The Symposium of the 5,000', 17–19.

the Greco-Roman patrons Jesus was not a man of great wealth and influence, nor would the wilderness be a feasible location for such "euergetism." Therefore, even without the miraculous element, the wilderness feedings would have been extraordinary. The witnesses should have been amazed. The problem of the lack of reaction is not solved. Finally, all the elements possibly evocative of Greco-Roman symposia also evoke correspondences to certain scriptural narratives and so the Greco-Roman background of public symposia is not necessarily primary here.

### §6.3 The Banquet of Death

The first feeding account is preceded by an episode unique to Mark's gospel. The account of John the Baptist's execution gives us unparalleled insight into a hostile character, Herod.[31] "Only here is there an extended story in which Jesus does not appear and not directly concerned with him."[32] In his portrayal of Herod, Mark sets up a contrast between the two "kings", Herod and Jesus.[33] Two points concern this study in particular. First, Herod's discussion of Jesus' identity closely parallels Jesus and Peter's later discussion.[34] This can be seen in the following comparison of the two discourses with corresponding words and phrasing marked in bold.

Comparison of Mark 6:14-16 and Mark 8:28-29

| Mark 6:14 -16 | Mark 8:28-29 |
|---|---|
| Καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης, φανερὸν γὰρ ἐγένετο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, | οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ |
| καὶ **ἔλεγον** | **λέγοντες** |
| **ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων** ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεργοῦσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐν αὐτῷ. | **[ὅτι] Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν,** |
| **ἄλλοι** δὲ ἔλεγον | **καὶ ἄλλοι** |
| **ὅτι Ἠλίας ἐστίν·** | **Ἠλίαν,** |
| **ἄλλοι δὲ** ἔλεγον | **ἄλλοι δὲ** |
| **ὅτι** προφήτης ὡς | |
| **εἷς τῶν προφητῶν.** | **ὅτι εἷς τῶν προφητῶν.** |
| | καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηρώτα αὐτούς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με |

[31] '. . . as if a flashback in the mind of Herod no less.' Sick, 'The Symposium of the 5,000', 14.

[32] Boring, *Mark*, 176.

[33] Boring, *Mark*, 177.

[34] Sanae Masuda, 'The Good News of the Miracle of the Bread: The Tradition and Its Markan Redaction', *NTS* 28 (1982): 213; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 611.

| | |
|---|---|
| | λέγετε εἶναι; |
| **ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἡρῴδης** | **ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος** |
| **ἔλεγεν·** | **λέγει** αὐτῷ· |
| ὃν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα | |
| **Ἰωάννην, οὗτος ἠγέρθη.** | **σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός.** |

The striking similarity between the two conversations presents them as an *inclusio,*[35] whereby Herod's false conclusion prepares the reader for Peter's later insight. It is within this *inclusio,* concerning Jesus' identity, that we find both the feeding miracles.

Second, Herod's conversation is followed by a description of a meal where Herod gives a banquet for his "courtiers and officers and for the leaders of Galilee" (6:21).[36] In the typical form of a Greco-Roman banquet the meal, δεῖπνον (6:21), would usually be followed by a drinking party, συμπόσιον, during which entertainment such as music and dancing could also occur (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 612E-F).[37] During the entertainment following Herod's banquet, Herodias' daughter dances for the guests and John the Baptist's fate is sealed. His head is presented on a platter like a macabre part of the feast (6:22-28). In 6:21 Herodias finds an opportune time (εὔκαιρος) to dispose of John, while in contrast the disciples have no opportunity to eat (οὐδὲ φαγεῖν εὐκαίρουν, 6:31).[38] When Jesus makes the crowd recline (ἀνακλίνω) and organises them into "banquets" (συμπόσιον) in 6:39 this evokes a banquet and so links back to Herod's birthday dinner.[39] Indeed, Herod's δεῖπνον (6:21), main meal, finds a complement in Jesus' συμπόσιον, drinking party. However, it should be noted both δεῖπνον and συμπόσιον could metonymically denote the whole banquet.[40] Thus Herod's banquet of death both provides a contrast to and sets the scene for Jesus' feeding miracle.[41]

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[35] Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 145.

[36] Birthday celebrations were a regular part of the Greco-Roman patronage system, see Kathryn Argetsinger, 'Birthday Rituals: Friends and Patrons in Roman Poetry and Cult', *Classical Antiquity* 11 (1992): 175–93.

[37] Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2003), 31, 34–36, 49.

[38] Collins, *Mark*, 318.

[39] Collins, *Mark*, 324.

[40] Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 49.

[41] Aus, *Feeding the Five Thousand*, 131–32; Collins, *Mark*, 324; Garland, *Mark*, 254; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 217; Sick, 'The Symposium of the 5,000', 14. On the socio-economic significance of this contrast see Alicia J. Batten, 'Fish Tales', *BTB* 47 (2017): 11.

This juxtaposition creates a narrative analogy between the adjacent Gospel pericopae, "through which one part of the text provides oblique commentary on another."[42]

Reinforcing this connection is a possible allusion to 1 Kings 18:4. As Pesch argues, there is a strong parallel between the story of John, Herod and Herodias and the story of Elijah, Ahab and Jezebel.[43] Just as John opposes Herod because of Herodias, so did Elijah oppose Ahab because of Jezebel (1 Kgs 21). Just as Herodias seeks the life of John, so did Jezebel seek the life of Elijah (1 Kings 19:2). Drewermann finds both Jezebel and Herodias are linked by the motif of "der verhängnisvollen Allmacht einer Frau über die Königsgewalt ihres Gatten."[44] John, of course, has already been identified with Elijah (Mark 1:6).

As will be discussed below the "groups of hundreds and fifties" of Mark 6:40 evoke Moses' arrangement of the people of Israel in Exod 18:21, 25; Deut 1:15. However, 1 Kgs 18:4, καὶ ἔλαβεν Αβδιου ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας προφήτας καὶ ἔκρυψεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ πεντήκοντα , presents a closer, albeit less prominent scriptural correspondence to "hundreds and fifties" (Mark 6:40). Obadiah, Ahab's steward, rescues a hundred prophets in groups of fifty in 1 Kings 18:4 and then sustains them with bread and water. These prophets are specifically men, ἀνήρ (LXX 18:4), which corresponds to Mark 6:44. Importantly, the immediate narrative context for Obadiah's act is, "when Jezebel was killing off the prophets of the Lord" (1 Kgs 18:4,) which corresponds with Herodias having John killed (Mark 6:14-29).[45] Immediately following, Ahab divides up the land between himself and Obadiah so that they can find grazing for the animals (1 Kgs 18:5-6). Thus Obadiah is portrayed as a pastoral herder of horses and mules who finds a way (ὁδός) to save them. As will be discussed below, shepherding (as in Psalm 23) and the Exodus are two significant Biblical themes recognised as present in Mark 6:30-45. Given the strong parallel in 6:14-29 to the Elijah story, the mention of hundreds and fifties in 6:40 could possibly be an allusion to Obadiah (and by extension Ahab). This would serve to

[42] Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, 21.

[43] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.339; also Collins, *Mark*, 307; Thomas R. Hatina, 'Embedded Scripture Texts and the Plurality of Meaning: The Announcement of the "Voice from Heaven" in Mark 1.11 as a Case Study', in *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels, Volume 1: The Gospel of Mark*, ed. Thomas R. Hatina, LNTS 304 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 42.

[44] 'The fateful omnipotence of a woman over the royal power of her husband.' Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, 407. This in no way absolves Herod of guilt for John's murder, however. See Hatina, 'Embedded Scripture Texts and the Plurality of Meaning', 39–40.

[45] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 331.

reinforce the contrast between Jesus and Herod, already implied by the juxtaposition of the murder of John at Herod's banquet and Jesus' feeding miracle.[46]

## §6.4 A Revolutionary Gathering?

The occasion of John's death provides a plausible narrative reason for public interest in Jesus suddenly to reach fever pitch.[47] The first-century reader of Mark may well have been aware that the public reason John was executed was the possibility he could lead an uprising (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.118).[48] While John was in prison "the whole Judean country side and all the people of Jerusalem" (Mark 1:5) who had gone to him in the wilderness would have been on tenterhooks. With his unjust death at the hands of king Herod all eyes would fall upon John's apparent successor, Jesus. Herod's character confirms this sense of Jesus' succession of John in Mark 6:16.

Hugh Montefiore suggests that the "many coming and going" of 6:31 may well have been political activists seeking out Jesus and his disciples in the wake of John's decapitation.[49] His solution to the problem of the crowd arriving on foot before Jesus did by boat is "a widespread concerted movement" that had been "premeditated."[50] Furthermore, he argues that, "The phrase 'sheep without a shepherd' means, according to Old Testament usage; not a congregation without a leader, but 'an army without a general, a nation without a national leader'. Mark here probably intends a reference to Num. xxvii. 16 ff.3."[51]

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[46] Cummings ('Embedded Scripture Texts and the Plurality of Meaning', 41–47) makes an argument for the narrative influence of Elijah and Esther traditions upon the account of Mark 6:14-29. His argument seems plausible but is not immediately relevant to this thesis. He does not note the possible connection with Obadiah from the Elijah narrative; On Esther as an influence on Herod's banquet see also Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium,* 1.339.

[47] Hugh Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert? (Mark VI.33ff.)', *NTS* 8 (1962): 140.

[48] Boring, *Mark*, 178. Indeed Mark's stated reason in 6:17-29, is hardly less seditious. Accusing a king of unlawful behaviour is little different to suggesting that he should not be king at all.

[49] Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert?', 135.

[50] Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert?', 136.

[51] Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert?', 136; Collins, *Mark*, 319.

Jesus' response to the crowd "to teach them" (6:34) is similar to his response to Peter in 8:31 and may reflect a similar misunderstanding on the part of the crowd to Peter's regarding the nature of Jesus' messiahship.[52] The combination of number and orderliness in 6:40 is suggestive of the military divisions of the Israelites.[53] Mark's emphasis that the multitude is composed of men (ἀνήρ, 6:44) is also suggestive of a military gathering rather than one for the purpose of healing and teaching.[54] That there are no healings or exorcisms described may suggest that these were able-bodied men, suitable to form an army. Indeed, they would need to be fit and well to have run ahead of Jesus (6:33). For Montefiore, Jesus' abrupt forcing of his disciples to leave suggests he wants them gone before they are influenced by the messianic fervour of the crowd.[55] Of course, John 6:15 supports Montefiore's hypothesis, even as it highlights Mark's omission of such details, and it is possible such a gathering is part of the historical background of the events described in Mark 6:30-44. As Hans Bayer states, "Die Gefahr, dass Jesus in die populäre, zeitgenössische Messiaserwartung gepresst wird, ist tatsächlich akut."[56] Finally, as James Dunn has argued, Jesus' retreat to prayer suggests he was himself in some sense tempted by the crowd.[57]

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[52] Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert?', 136.

[53] Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert?', 137.

[54] Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert?', 137; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 414.

[55] 'ἀναγκάζω is a very strong word to use (Mark vi. 45), and nowhere else in the canonical gospels is Jesus said to have put this kind of pressure on his disciples.' So Montefiore, 'Revolt in the Desert?', 138. Also Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark', 102.

[56] 'The danger that Jesus will be pressed into the popular, contemporary messianic expectation is indeed acute.' Bayer, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 74. See also France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 261; Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark', 102; and "The undesigned coincidences between the Johannine and Synoptic accounts of the feeding and its aftermath are too impressive to be dismissed as accidental, and we are perfectly justified in making judicious use of details in the one account to illuminate details in the other." in F. F. Bruce, 'The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 43 (1961): 344.

[57] '[I]t is perhaps significant that Mark only mentions Jesus praying three times, and that on each of the other occasions the implication is that He resorted to prayer because of temptation—temptation at the time of His early success to remain where He was so popular (1:35, 38); temptation in Gethsemane (14:35f.). So in 6:46 there is the implication that Jesus was tempted to give way to the crowd's demands—to be the Messiah of popular conception and popular appeal, and that He fled to the silence and loneliness of the hills that quiet communion with His Father might strengthen His

Further corroboration comes from Josephus, who records a number of first-century Palestinian "ostensible prophets who, following a more or less fixed scenario, led people into the desert, where miracles of deliverance like those of Moses and his imitator, Joshua, were to be enacted."[58] I have already discussed these prophets. It should suffice to be reminded that the conjunction of a crowd (ὄχλος) gathered around a prophetic leader (cf. Mark 6:15; 8:28) in the wilderness (ἐρημία) was one that was consistently met with deadly armed response from the Romans. That is, whatever the intent of the crowd or of Jesus, such a gathering could be expected to be interpreted by the Romans as an insurrection. While the sign prophets in Josephus post-date Jesus, the relevant point here is, for the Gospel of Mark, any reader around 70 BCE, aware of recent events in Palestine, would have been likely to recognise this "revolutionary" aspect as an implication of the account.

With internal and external evidence taken together it seems likely that at least some of the gathered crowd believed themselves to be part of a messianic uprising and that any such act would be seen as provocative by the Roman authorities. However, Mark does not explicitly acknowledge this aspect of the gathering. Rather than the reason that these men gather to Jesus, Mark focuses his reader on what Jesus does with them.

## §6.5 Transformation of a Revolution

As France observes, "The whole story reads more like an ad hoc picnic than a military manoeuvre."[59] Likewise, Marcus suggests that Jesus is described as "throwing a banquet rather than raising an army."[60] Of course even the provision of food could be a prelude to an armed uprising, the supply of food to campaigning or besieged troops was (and still is) a large part of any successful war.[61] Indeed, Jesus orders (ἐπιτάσσω, 6:39) the crowd about much like Herod giving an order (ἐπιτάσσω, 6:27) to his soldiers. So Jesus appears a little like Herod. But whereas Herod is manipulated to order death and motivated by the approval

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conviction concerning the nature of His mission and Messiahship.' Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark', 103.

[58] Allison, *The New Moses*, 81.

[59] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 262.

[60] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 421.

[61] See, e.g., D. Vijaya Rao, ed., *Armies, Wars and Their Food* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India, 2012).

of others, Jesus orders a banquet motivated by compassion. The only other uses of ἐπιτάσσω in Mark are when Jesus commands demons (1:27, 9:25). So this word choice perhaps also suggests uncertainty about the nature of the crowd and their motivation for being there.

Jesus orders the crowd into groups, not in military terms, but συμπόσια συμπόσια (6:39) and πρασιαὶ πρασιαὶ (6:40). A συμπόσιον, a NT *hapax* - literally a "drinking-party" but "better understood as 'banquet'", does not imply military seriousness but festivity and "sparkling conversation."[62] Indeed, "Greco-Roman Symposium literature, of which Plato's *Symposium* is the most famous example, combines the banquet setting with a philosophical discussion."[63] Consequently the symposium was not just a meal but also a literary form with established conventions.[64] It could be that the philosophical symposium and its association with decency and refinement is here intended to contrast with Herod's banquet.[65] Given that Jesus has just been teaching the crowd it is reasonable to suggest that the potentially revolutionary gathering was transformed by Jesus into a meal for his disciples to celebrate and discuss his teaching.

Even more surprising is the use of πρασιά in 6:40. The KJV translates it as "ranks" and the NAS as "companies". It seems wrong to translate a word derived from such an inoffensive vegetable as the leek (πράσον), and meaning "garden plot, garden bed,"[66] with military terms. Marcus suggests that the "unprecedented" use of "this agricultural image invites comparison with rabbinic texts in which pupils are compared to plants arranged in lines before their teacher," for example in *y. Ber.* 4:1, and also 1 QH 8:5-11 (16) where the elect end-time community are figured as a garden.[67]

Perhaps, however, a closer parallel comes from the Gospel of Mark itself. The parables of Mark 4:1-32 figuratively depict people as seeds which respond to the word in different ways

[62] BDAG 959.

[63] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 408.

[64] Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 48.

[65] Having his niece/stepdaughter dance for the pleasure of his guests was hardly decent, and a human head on a plate speaks for itself. See Boring, *Mark*, 178, 182.

[66] BDAG, 860; LSJ, 1460; GE, 1735.

[67] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 408.

(4:1-20) and the kingdom of God as a field in which seed grows (4:26-29).[68] The πρασιά are not *flower* garden beds, but agricultural, *vegetable* garden beds from which a harvest can be expected.[69] By arranging the crowd into garden beds Mark's Jesus can be seen as inserting the crowd into the parables of the kingdom. They are the seeds who must respond to the word (4:13-20; 6:34). To my knowledge this has not been previously suggested.

What supports my suggestion here, is that the *miracle* of multiplication of food itself corresponds to the *parables* of multiplication (Mark 4:8, 4:30–32). As Andrew Salzmann observes, "Each of these [feeding miracle] stories, it must be noted, is an illustration of the Kingdom of God. The fragments of bread again become symbolic of the Kingdom of God in their superabundance."[70] The small beginning of a mustard seed (Mark 4:31) that becomes a great plant (4:32), or the single seed that reproduces a hundredfold (4:8), find an analogy in the five loaves and two fish that feed a multitude. In the parables Jesus tells the disciples what the kingdom of God is like (4:11, 26, 30). In the feeding miracles he shows them that same multiplying power of divine abundance at work.

Whether or not the five thousand men arrived in the wilderness to form a revolt, Jesus turns them into something else: disciples sharing in a meal, individual seeds hearing the word, God's field from which the harvest will come.

### §6.6 The Repeated Miracle

While there are a number of healings and exorcisms recounted in Mark, no two are alike. The water miracles (4:35-41; 6:45-52) also share some common themes but differ in structure, content and lexicon. The two feeding miracles, however, are so alike that they are considered

[68] Jesus' parables in Mark 4 all revolve around 'Vegetationsmetaphern' rather than 'soziomorphe Metaphern', see Gudrun Guttenberger, *Die Gottesvorstellung im Markusevangelium*, BZNW 123 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 73.

[69] This difference should not be overdrawn. Leeks, of course, can flower if allowed to go to seed, and πρασιά could denote flower beds. On the later point see GE, 1735. My point is with regard to the Markan πρασιά.

[70] Andrew Benjamin Salzmann, '"Do You Still Not Understand?" Mark 8:21 and the Mission to the Gentiles', *BTB* 39 (2009): 132.

by some to be two versions of the same story.[71] The following comparison shows overlaps in word choice in the parallel stories marked in bold.

[71] E.g. Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.255.

| Mark 6:30-44 | Mark 8:1-10 |
|---|---|
| 34 . . . **πολὺν ὄχλον** . . . | 1 . . . **πολλοῦ ὄχλου** . . . |
| 34 . . . **ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ**᾽. . . | 2 **σπλαγχνίζομαι ἐπὶ** . . . |
| 34 . . . , **ὅτι** ἦσαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς πολλά. | 2 . . . **ὅτι ἤδη** ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι |
| 35 Καὶ **ἤδη** ὥρας πολλῆς γενομένης | |
| 35 . . . οἱ **μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ** ἔλεγον . . . | 4 . . . ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ **μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ** . . . |
| 36 **ἀπόλυσον αὐτούς**, ἵνα ἀπελθόντες **εἰς** . . . | 3 καὶ ἐὰν **ἀπολύσω αὐτοὺς** νήστεις **εἰς** . . . |
| 36 . . . **τί φάγωσιν.** | 2 . . . **τί φάγωσιν**· |
| 37 ὁ δὲ **ἀποκριθεὶς** εἶπεν αὐτοῖς . . . | 4 καὶ **ἀπεκρίθησαν** αὐτῷ . . . |
| 38 ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· **πόσους ἄρτους ἔχετε;** . . . | 5 καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτούς· **πόσους ἔχετε ἄρτους;** . . . |
| 39 καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς **ἀνακλῖναι** πάντας συμπόσια συμπόσια **ἐπὶ** τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ. | 6 καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ ὄχλῳ **ἀναπεσεῖν ἐπὶ** τῆς γῆς· |
| 40 καὶ **ἀνέπεσαν** πρασιαὶ πρασιαὶ . . . | |
| 41 καὶ **λαβὼν** τοὺς πέντε **ἄρτους** καὶ τοὺς δύο **ἰχθύας** ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν **εὐλόγησεν** καὶ **κατέκλασεν** τοὺς ἄρτους **καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς** [αὐτοῦ] ἵνα **παρατιθῶσιν** αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς δύο **ἰχθύας** ἐμέρισεν πᾶσιν. | 6 . . . καὶ **λαβὼν** τοὺς ἑπτὰ **ἄρτους** εὐχαριστήσας **ἔκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς** αὐτοῦ ἵνα **παρατιθῶσιν**, καὶ παρέθηκαν τῷ ὄχλῳ. |
| | 7 καὶ εἶχον **ἰχθύδια** ὀλίγα· καὶ **εὐλογήσας** αὐτὰ εἶπεν καὶ ταῦτα **παρατιθέναι**. |
| 42 **καὶ ἔφαγον** πάντες **καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν**, | 8 **καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν,** |
| 43 **καὶ ἦραν κλάσματα** δώδεκα κοφίνων πληρώματα . . . | 8 . . . **καὶ ἦραν** περισσεύματα **κλασμάτων** ἑπτὰ σπυρίδας. |
| 44 καὶ **ἦσαν** οἱ φαγόντες [τοὺς ἄρτους] πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες. | 9 **ἦσαν** δὲ ὡς τετρακισχίλιοι. . . |
| 45 **Καὶ εὐθὺς** ἠνάγκασεν τοὺς **μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον** καὶ προάγειν **εἰς** τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδάν . . . | 10 **Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον** μετὰ τῶν **μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ** ἦλθεν **εἰς** τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά. |
| 45 . . . ἕως αὐτὸς **ἀπολύει** τὸν ὄχλον. | 9 . . . καὶ **ἀπέλυσεν** αὐτούς. |

There is an undeniable overlap in vocabulary and structure. Despite the clear similarity, which is unique among any other miracle narratives in Mark, the stories do display differences. Firstly, all the features that suggested 6:30-45 may have been a gathering of revolutionary minded men, as discussed above, are absent in 8:1-10.

Secondly, were they to be two separate accounts of the same tradition which Mark has now brought together (in, e.g., a hypothesis like Achtemeier's)[72] it would beg the question as to why the lesser miracle – four thousand people instead of five and a lesser multiplication of food – was reported second. The natural order would have been to place the lesser miracle first, to show an escalation in Jesus' popularity and power.

Third, each feeding miracle is followed by a boat voyage (6:45-52; 8:14-21) both of which refer back to the previous feeding miracle(s) but only the first of which contains a spectacular

[72] Achtemeier, 'Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae'; Paul J. Achtemeier, 'The Origin and Function of the Pre-Marcan Miracle Catenae', *JBL* 91 (1972): 198–221.

miracle. The second boat journey contains only a (non-miraculous) stinging rebuke to the disciples.

Fourth, many of the scriptural allusions of the first account are missing in the second: "in der zweiten Episode die Erzählfiguren nicht auf einem dichten intertextuellen Teppich sitzen."[73]

Finally, regardless of speculative constructions of tradition history, from the point of view of interpreting Mark, the clear intent is to portray two different events, both of which contribute in some esoteric way to the disciples' and consequently the readers' comprehension of who Jesus is (8:14-21).[74] As Pesch comments, "die Erinnerung setzt die Präsentation der beiden Speisungswunder als zweier Ereignisse in einem dargestellten Zeitablauf voraus und nimmt mit ziemlicher Präzision auf jede einzelne Erzählung Bezug."[75] If they are not two stories based on the same event could there be another reason they are so similar?

### §6.7 2 Kgs 4:42-44

The close resemblance between Mark 6:30-45 and 8:1-10 is not just to each other, but also to a much shorter scriptural story.[76] A number of commentators note that 2 Kgs 4:42-44 shares themes and structure with the Markan feeding miracles.[77] Despite its comparatively short

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[73] 'In the second episode, the narrative figures are not sitting on a tightly-woven intertextual carpet.' Hübenthal, *Das Markusevangelium als kollectives Gedächtnis*, 410.

[74] Van Oyen, *The Interpretation of the Feeding Miracles*, 192; Stein, *Mark*, 310.

[75] 'The recollection presupposes the presentation of the two feeding miracles as two events in a given time sequence and refers to each individual narrative with great precision.' Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.411.

[76] Space does not permit discussion of Derrett's suggestion of an allusion to Isa 55:1-3 (*The Making of Mark*, 1.122). Schneck (*Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 153–55) who follows up Derrett's suggestion, concludes that the only major theme shared by both passages is the eating of bread, 'Nevertheless, it must be recognised that this major theme of eating bread certainly does appear in other OT passages' (p. 155). In other words there is no good reason to posit influence of Isa 55:1-3 on Mark 6:30-45.

[77] E.g., Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels*, 95; Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 284; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 502; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 344; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 155–56; Schnackenburg, *Jesus in the Gospels*, 31; Garland, *Mark*, 256; Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 214; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 415; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 217; Dunn, *Jesus*

length, a mere three verses, the Markan stories find many correspondences in the Elisha account, as is shown in the following table.

Table: Comparison of Mark's Feeding Miracles and Elisha's Feeding Miracle

| | Mark 6 | Mark 8 | | 2 Kgs 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Disciples gathered | 31 | 1b | Prophets with Elisha | (38) |
| Description of crowd | 33 | 1a | Company/100 people | (38, 43) |
| Jesus' compassion on crowd | 34 | 2 | | |
| Need for food explained | 35 | 3 | Famine in land | (38) |
| Jesus wants crowd fed | 37 | 3 | Elisha wants people fed | 42 |
| Disciples protest | 35 | 4 | Servant protests | 43 |
| Jesus requests and receives stock take | 38 | 5 | Offering described | (42) |
| Jesus orders crowd to lie down | 39 | 6a | | |
| Jesus takes, blesses, gives for distribution | 41 | 6b-7 | Elisha sets before (not LXX) | 44a |
| All eat and are filled | 42 | 8a | All eat | 44b |
| There are leftovers | 43 | 8b | Leftovers (not specified) | 44c |
| The crowd is numbered | 44 | 9a | Servant reports 100 people | (43) |
| Immediate embarkation | 45a | 10 | | |
| Crowd dismissed | 45b | 9b | | |

The key structural correspondences are a hungry crowd, the command of the hero to feed the crowd, the protest of the helper(s), an account of the small amount of available food, the Hero giving out the food, everyone eating, the presence of leftovers, and numbering those who had eaten.[78] For Collins, the miracles themselves are "almost identical."[79] For Marcus the feature of producing greater food from a small amount derives from 2 Kgs 4:42-44.[80] France concludes, "there can be little doubt that Mark had the story [of 2 Kgs 4:42-44] in mind."[81]

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*Remembered*, 686; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 256; Boring, *Mark*, 185; Collins, *Mark*, 320; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 248–49; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.348; Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 258–59; Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 165–66; W. Richard Stegner, *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1989), 60.

[78] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 254–55; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 415–16; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.354.

[79] Collins, *Mark*, 320.

[80] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 407.

[81] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 262.

In the LXX a number of words also help link the stories.

- ἄρτους (2 Kgs 4:42; Mark 6:37, 38 41 (x2) 8:4,5,6)
- ἐσθίω (2 Kgs 4:42-44 (x4); Mark 6:31, 36, 37 (x2), 42, 44; 8:1, 2, 8)
- ἀνήρ (2 Kgs 4:42, 43; Mark 6:44)
- δίδωμι (2 Kgs 4:42, 43; Mark 6:37 (x2), 41; 8:6)

However all of these words are very common. Another common word that might have been expected is καταλείπω (2 Kgs 4:43, 44) which Mark uses elsewhere (10:7; 12:19, 21; 14:52) but does not use in the feeding accounts. There are no shared words that are unusual enough to confirm literary dependence, but the structural similarities in this instance are sufficient to suggest influence. Consequently, many similarities in the two Markan feeding narratives can be explained by their both being influenced by the same scriptural story, 2 Kgs 4:42-44, with which they share themes, structure, and some common words.

However, Hartman rightly notes that the Elisha parallel does not account for the prominence of the Shepherd motif in the Markan feeding miracles.[82] This too can be shown to have a scriptural background.

### §6.8 The Shepherd Motif

Despite its present day devotional prominence for Christians, Psalm 23 (LXX 22) is conspicuous by its absence in the NT and early Christian literature. For example, in the Apostolic Fathers only 1 Clement 26:2 cites it, and briefly at that (ὅτι σὺ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ εἶ, LXX Ps 22:4). However, Dale Allison observes that it is alluded to in Rev 7:17.[83] He also finds that "both [Revelation and 1 Clement] use the psalm as a prophecy of eschatological future".[84] The third place Allison argues allusions to Psalm 23 are present is Mark 6:30-45, and he suggests the following correspondences.[85]

[82] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 263.

[83] Dale C. Allison, 'Psalm 23 (22) in Early Christianity: A Suggestion', *IBS* 5 (1983): 133.

[84] Allison, 'Psalm 23 (22) in Early Christianity', 134.

[85] Allison, 'Psalm 23 (22) in Early Christianity', 134; see also Garland, *Mark*, 255–56; Du Toit, *Der abwesende Herr*, 100.

| Psalm 23 | Mark 6 |
|---|---|
| The Lord is my shepherd (1) | They were like sheep without a shepherd (34) |
| I shall not want (1) | They all ate and were satisfied (42) |
| He makes me to lie down in green pastures (2) | He commanded them all to sit down by companies upon the green grass (39) |
| He leads me beside still waters (2) | The feeding takes place at the seashore in the evening (34, 35) |

Others have also suggested that themes of compassion (Ps 23:6; Mark 6:34; 8:2), teaching (Ps 23:3; Mark 6:34), and preparing a table (Ps 23:5; Mark 6:39-41; 8:6-7), serve to link Ps 23 with Mark 6:30-44.[86] The theme of "rest" is also a possible link (Mark 6:31; LXX Ps 22:2, ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως ἐξέθρεψέν με).[87] In particular, σπλαγχνιζομαι is infrequently used in Mark (1:41; 6:34, 8:2; 9:22) but is used in both feeding miracles, and presents Jesus as a compassionate shepherd for the "sheep".[88] The verb only occurs in the LXX in 2 Mac 6:8, but semantically corresponds to the description of the shepherd of Psalm 23 comforting, guiding and showing goodness and mercy/loving-kindness (חסד/ἔλεος, Ps 23:6/LXX 22:6).

Stein discounts the influence of Psalm 23 because τόπον χλόης (LXX Ps 22:2) and τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ (Mark 6:39) are not exactly the same.[89] However, the power of an allusion is not dependent on using the exact same words. Here there is considerable sematic and motivic overlap. Comparable, for example, is the way in which green grass, verdant pasture, lush fields, could all evoke the same image for an English reader.

Secondly, without access to the exact Hebrew and Greek texts of the scriptures that Mark was using, it does not stretch the imagination to suppose that a Greek manuscript of Ps 23 could use χλωρός instead of χλόη. Indeed, Mark's τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ is a closer translation of the Hebrew דשא of Ps 23:2 than the Septuagint's τόπον χλόης.[90] As Pesch writes, "die Lagerung

[86] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 259–60; Masuda, 'The Good News of the Miracle of the Bread', 209; see also Owen, 'Jesus as God's Chief Agent in Mark's Christology', 54; Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.124; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.350.

[87] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 204; Hübenthal, *Das Markusevangelium als kollectives Gedächtnis*, 403.

[88] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 265.

[89] Stein, *Mark*, 315.

[90] Focant, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 260.

‘auf dem grünen Gras’ (V 39) ruft Ps 23,2 in Erinnerung.”[91] It is both unique and otherwise unnecessary for Mark to make a reference to colour. Consequently, this evocative allusion to Psalm 23:2 should be considered deliberate.[92]

It is also possible that Mark chose χόρτος because of its relation to χορτάζω, which he uses for fullness in Mark 6:42; 7:27; 8:4, 8. With their associations with animal feed,[93] χόρτος and χορτάζω serve to reinforce the figuration of the crowd as sheep and Jesus as good shepherd.

What most concretely confirms the Shepherd motif is the expression “they were like sheep without a shepherd.”[94] This is close to a quotation of several LXX passages.[95] Compare:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mark 6:34 | ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα |
| Num 27:17 | ὡσεὶ πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν |
| 1 Kgs 22:17 | ὡς ποίμνιον ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν |
| 2 Chr 18:16, | ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν |
| Jdt 11:19, | ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν |

With the exception of Judith, all these scriptures use the expression to refer to Israel. Thus this allusive phrase figures the crowd as Israel, the people of God (also see Ezek 34:5-6; Zech 10:2).[96] If the people lack a shepherd, then, in his teaching and feeding of them, Jesus is presented as the shepherd they need (Mark 6:34, 42).[97]

The image of shepherd is applied in a number of ways in the Jewish scriptures.[98] God is described as having been a shepherd (Ps 78:52). God also promises to be a shepherd to his

[91] ‘Camping “on the green grass” (V 39) calls to mind Ps 23:2.’ Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.352.

[92] ‘Vielleicht dient es nur dazu, die Buntheit und Frölichkeit des Mahles zu unterstreichen / Perhaps it serves to underscore the colourful and joyous character of the meal.’ is an unconvincing suggestion from Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.260; see also Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 120, 122.

[93] BDAG, 1087.

[94] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 340.

[95] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.350; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 157.

[96] Kee, ‘Christology in Mark’s Gospel’, 196; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 217.

[97] See also France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 265; Masuda, ‘The Good News of the Miracle of the Bread’, 209; Stein, *Mark*, 313.

[98] For an overview see Wayne Baxter, ‘The Extending of the Shepherd Metaphor in Early Jewish and Christian Writings’, in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, vol. Volume 1: Thematic Studies, LNTS 391 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 210–13.

people (Jer 31:10). The shepherd is also a typological image, as "The figures of Moses, Joshua, and David are all painted with pastoral colors in the OT: They shepherd Israel on God's behalf."[99] In particular Moses and David are (literal) shepherds who become shepherds (figuratively) of God's people.[100] So the shepherd motif potentially evokes Moses and/or David.

Alongside this, in the scriptures God promises to provide an eschatological shepherd, and this becomes part of the messianic hope (e.g. Ps 78:70-72; Ezek 34:23; Micah 5.4; *Pss. Sol.* 17.45(40)) of which the NT holds Jesus is the fulfilment.[101]

So it can be seen that the shepherd motif both complements and reinforces some themes from 2 Kgs 4:42-44 and provides background for some places in the Mark narratives which did not link to the Elisha story, especially Jesus making the crowd lie down and Jesus' compassion.

Table: Psalm 23 and 2 Kings 4:42-44 in Mark's Feeding Miracles

| | Mark 6 | Mark 8 | 2 Kgs 4 | Shepherd Motif |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jesus' compassion on crowd | 34 | 2 | | Ps 23:4, 6 |
| Need for food explained | 35 | 3 | (38) | |
| Jesus wants crowd fed | 37 | 3 | 42 | Ps 23:5 |
| Disciples protest | 35 | 4 | 43 | |
| Jesus requests and receives stock take | 38 | 5 | (42) | |
| Jesus orders crowd to lie down | 39 | 6a | | Ps 23:2 |
| Jesus takes, blesses, gives for distribution | 41 | 6b-7 | 44a | |
| All eat and are filled | 42 | 8a | 44b | Ps 23:1 |
| There are leftovers | 43 | 8b | 44c | Ps 23:5 |
| The crowd is numbered | 44 | 9a | (43) | |

[99] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 259.

[100] Two texts from Qumran associate the shepherd motif with David in regard to his rulership (Evans, 'David in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 187). 4Q504 1-2.4.4-8 reads, "For you loved Israel more than all the peoples. And you chose the tribe of Judah, and established your covenant with David, so that he would be like a shepherd, a prince over your people, and would sit in front of you upon the throne of Israel forever" (Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2.1015); And 11Q5 28.3-4 reads "A Hallelujah of David, son of Jesse. I was smaller than my brothers and the youngest of my father's son's; he made me a shepherd of his flock and ruler over his kid goats" (ibid, 2.1179).

[101] See Mark 14:27, 28; John 10:1-18; Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 2:25; 5:4; Rev 7:17; Matt 10:6; 15:24; Luke 19:10; Allison, 'Psalm 23 in Early Christianity', 135–36.

Despite the prominence of David typology elsewhere in Mark, here, the image of bread in the wilderness combined with the shepherd motif inescapably places the emphasis on a Moses typology.[102]

### §6.9 Moses

Regarding Mark 6:30-45, Gnilka states, "Nicht ist Jesus als zweiter Mose vorgestellt."[103] On the contrary, given the clear link with 2 Kgs 4:42-44 where Elisha is shown as "another Moses" through his bread miracle,[104] and the irrefutable presence of shepherd motif (Mark 6:34), it seems clear that Jesus is being portrayed in a way intended to bring Moses to mind,[105] and possibly also the promise of Deut 18:15-18.[106] Moses has been brought to mind from the very beginning of the Gospel in its allusions to the Exodus (e.g. Mark 1:2-3).[107] In particular, Marcus finds this whole section of the Gospel, 6:6b-8:21, to contain "a pronounced Mosaic typology."[108] In Mark 6:30-45 specifically, the wilderness setting, the arrangement of the crowd, the numerical symbolism, and the teaching and compassion in the wilderness strongly evoke Moses.[109] Moreover, just as the later sign prophets would imitate Moses, by leading crowds into the wilderness with the promise of miracles, so too Jesus' miracle working for a crowd in the desert inescapably evokes Moses.[110]

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[102] Baxter, 'The Extending of the Shepherd Metaphor', 214.

[103] 'Jesus is not presented as a second Moses.' Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.259.

[104] R. P. Carroll, 'The Elijah-Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel', *VetT* 19 (1969): 411–12; Brueggemann, *1 & 2 Kings*, 326, 329.

[105] Du Toit, *Der abwesende Herr*, 100.

[106] Collins, *Mark*, 319.

[107] Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten', 83.

[108] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 417.

[109] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 417–19.

[110] The evocation of Moses does not necessarily conflict with the figuring of Jesus as Davidic messiah. The Apocryphon of Moses C (4Q377 2.ii.5), "Moses his (God's) messiah," perhaps provides precedent for association of Davidic messiah with Moses (James E. Bowley, 'Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed', in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, SDSS [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001], 175); Regardless, inter alia, Deut 33:5; Isa 63:11; Exod 4:20 LXX all present Moses as a king (William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* [London: SCM, 1998], 31). Thus the conflation of hopes for a new Moses and a new David in one kingly figure could easily occur.

The Moses typology of Mark 6:30-45 can be further explicated with reference to specific scriptural passages.

1) Most commentators find the "groups of hundreds and fifties" of Mark 6:40 reflect Moses' arrangement of the people of Israel in Ex 18:21, 25; Deut 1:15.[111] Significantly, in Exodus these groups are not formed for military purposes but for the purpose of pastoral care, i.e. "judging" (Exod 18:22, 26). However, the role of teacher remained solely with Moses (Exod 18:19-20). In Mark 6:34 Jesus teaches in response to seeing the crowd "like sheep without a shepherd" (cf. Num 27:17) and prior to forming the groups. Thus Jesus is presented as a teacher in the wilderness and as the one whose teaching the sheep of Israel need, doubly evoking Moses.[112]
2) The motif of miraculous bread in the desert recalls the story of the manna of Exodus 16 (LXX 16:8, 12, 15 ἄρτους; 16:1, ἔρημος) when the Lord gives (16:8, 15, δίδωμι) Israel food.[113] In Mark 6, Jesus commands (Mark 6:39, ἐπιτάσσω) the people to lie down to be fed. In Exodus 16 the Lord and Moses command Israel regarding the manna (Exod 16:16, 24, 34, συντάσσω). It is also possible that the five loaves symbolise the five books of Moses.[114]
3) The recounting of the Exodus in Psalm 78 (LXX 77) reads καὶ ἐφάγοσαν καὶἐνεπλήσθησαν σφόδρα (LXX 77:29) which Collins rightly suggests "has an important similarity" to Mark 6:42, καὶ ἔφαγον πάντες καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν.[115] Psalm 78 also evokes the shepherd motif (Ps 78:52, 70-72) using the image of shepherd for both God and David. As a nexus of both Exodus feeding and shepherd imagery the likelihood of Psalm 78 being in the background of Mark 6:42 is increased. Mark does not use any Greek terms for fullness that link to the LXX feeding passages. However, the language of "fullness" is very much part of the Markan feeding accounts (χορτάζω,

[111] E.g., Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 159; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 408; Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 217, 219; Du Toit, *Der abwesende Herr*, 100; Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 248, 261; Stegner, *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity*, 57.

[112] See Ps 119:176; Philo, *Post.* 67-69; 2 Bar 76:13-14; so Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 406; also Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 247.

[113] Garland, *Mark*, 254; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 164.

[114] Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 166; Hübenthal, *Das Markusevangelium als kollectives Gedächtnis*, 404.

[115] Collins, *Mark*, 326.

Mark 6:42 & 8:4; πλήρωμα, 6:43; περίσσευμα, 8:8),[116] and surely links to similar language in the LXX (πλησμονή, Exod 16:3, 12; ἐμπίπλημι, Ps 77:29).[117]

4) The narrative setting for Num 27:17 (cf. Mark 6:34) is the appointment of Joshua son of Nun as Moses' successor. Jesus, of course, is the Greek rendering of the Hebrew name Joshua. Thus Jesus could be being figured as Moses' successor Joshua.[118] Sanae Masuda makes the intriguing suggestion that Mark 8:1-10 omits Δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν of 6:37, to minimise the connection with Elisha found in Mark 6:30-45 and instead links to Joshua 9 through ἡμέραι τρεῖς (Mark 8:2; cf. Jos 9:16) and ἀπό μακρὸθεν ἥκασιν (Mark 8:3, cf. LXX Jos 9:6, 9, 22).[119] Thus for Masuda both Joshua and Jesus receive Gentiles "from afar" who stay with them for "three days", but while Joshua makes them slaves, Jesus invites them to share in the same shepherding care and provision as the nation of Israel received.[120] More tentatively, the Gibeonites of Josh 9 use bread, αρτός, in their deception, and are one of the seven nations described in Deut 7:1-2, which fact may correspond to the seven baskets collected in 8:8.[121] Masuda's suggestion is plausible. However, the expressions are too common to be decisive. Such an allusion, however, would not detract from Jesus being a type of Moses, as Joshua himself was a type of Moses.[122]
5) The disciples' responses to Jesus' plan to feed the crowds (Mark 6:37; 8:4) also finds a counterpart in Moses' words in Numbers 11:13 and 11:21-22, "Where am I to get meat to give to all this people? . . . Are there enough flocks and herds to slaughter for them? Are there enough fish in the sea to catch for them?"[123] The numbering of the people on foot in Num 11:21, ἑξακόσιαι χιλιάδες πεζῶν ὁ λαός, may connect to Mark

[116] See also comment on περίσσευμα in Masuda, 'The Good News of the Miracle of the Bread', 206–7.

[117] However, it may be noted that both Exod 16:33 and Byzantine tradition of Mark 6:43 use πλήρης.

[118] J. H. A. Hart, ed., *Ecclesiasticus, the Greek Text of Codex 248: Edited with a Textual Commentary and Prolegomena* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 247; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 406.

[119] LXX Jos 9:6, ἐκ γῆς μακρόθεν ἥκαμεν; 9:9 ἐκ γῆς μακρόθεν σφόδρα ἥκασιν; 9:22, μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ.

[120] Masuda, 'The Good News of the Miracle of the Bread', 211; see also Derrett, *The Making of Mark*, 1.143; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 404; Frederick William Danker, 'Mark 8:3', *JBL* 82 (1963): 215.

[121] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 487; Danker, 'Mark 8:3', 215–16.

[122] As argued in §2.

[123] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 418–19; Garland, *Mark*, 253; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 164.

6:33, πεζός, and 6:44; 8:9. The account of gathering the quails and numbering the homers (Num 11:32) may connect with the gathering of the pieces in Mark 6:43 and 8:8.[124]

6) Numbers 11 may also provide the background for another, more significant, detail in the Markan feeding miracles. As France notes, Mark keeps fish prominent in the feeding accounts (Mark 6:38, 41 (x2), 43; 8:7).[125] This is seen in contrast to Matthew and Luke who reduce the number of fish references in their parallel accounts.[126] In Num 11:5 the Israelites complain of their lack of free fish (ἰχθύς) that they had enjoyed in Egypt. In Num 11:22 Moses complains that all the fish in the sea (πᾶν τὸ ὄψος τῆς θαλάσσης) would not suffice to feed the people.[127] Thus if we see a link to Moses and to Numbers 11 in particular then we can conclude with Garland that the significance of the fish is that "Jesus is therefore able to provide the people in the desert what Moses could not."[128]
7) There is a repeated reference to the wilderness (Mark 6:31, 32). This wilderness is reached after a sea crossing (6:32) and then followed by the miraculous feeding with bread in the wilderness on the other side of the sea. Stegner notes that this sets up a parallel with the order of events in the Exodus, as does Mark's double account of feedings which may be in imitation of the twin accounts of the manna in Exod 16 and Num 11.[129]

Thus a variety of background texts from the Pentateuch as well as Joshua 9 and Psalm 78 provide scriptural background that reflects a Moses typology at work. Numbers 11 provides the most points of narrative contact as well as some significant lexical correspondences.

[124] It has also been suggested that Mark may have drawn upon Num 11:26-29 for Mark 9:38 (France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 376; Garland, *Mark*, 368).

[125] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 260.

[126] Batten, 'Fish Tales', 11.

[127] Incidentally, ὄψον and its diminutive ὀψάριον are used in John 6:9, 11 and 21:9-13. It is also a word closely connected to the Greco-Roman banquet, 'that condiment [ὄψον] is the symbol of appropriate behaviour at the banquet.' So Sick, 'The Symposium of the 5,000', 9.

[128] Garland, *Mark*, 255.

[129] Stegner, *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity*, 58.

### *§6.9.1 A Unique Indicator*

Further confirmation of Mark's intention to signal an attentive reader towards Numbers 11 is the use of the NT *hapax* πρασιά (6:40 x2). The significance of this distinctive word has been missed by the focus on its unprecedented and awkward use to describe the groupings into which Jesus forms the crowd.[130] We have already discussed its rarity and etymology as a bed of leeks above.[131] However, I would argue that this NT *hapax* is a deliberate word-play on a related LXX *hapax*.[132]

In Num 11:5 where the Israelites complain about their lack of fish they also mention a number of other foodstuffs they miss; among them are "leeks", in the MT חציר, in the LXX πράσον. Numbers 11:5 is the only place in 22 MT instances of the Hebrew חציר where it is translated in the LXX by πράσον. Usually חציר simply means "grass" and the LXX translates with βοτάνη (1 Kgs 18:5, Job 8:12), χλόη (2 Kgs 19:26; Ps 95, etc.), and most commonly χόρτος (Job 40:15; Ps 37:2, etc.).[133] The significance of χόρτος and χορτάζω to the feeding miracles (Mark 6:39, 42; 8:4, 8), already noted above, may have drawn Mark to this distinctive Septuagintal *hapax*. Given the possible allusion to story of Obadiah in 6:40,[134] the use of חציר in association with Obadiah in 1 Kgs 18:5 may also have attracted Mark to this cryptic allusion. It is a tiny etymological step from πράσα (LXX Num 11:5) to πρασιαί (Mark 6:40). In my view, nothing else accounts for Mark's unprecedented use of πρασιά. An allusion to Num 11:5 both explains an otherwise awkward word and reinforces the evident Moses typology.

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[130] Schneck (Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 161–63) considers πρασιά to be a reference to Sirach 24:31, which is a metaphorical passage about Ben Sira's wisdom spreading to others. Whilst this provides a parallel with Jesus' teaching reaching the crowds, it should be noted that the πρασιά of Mark 6:40 are not related to his teaching but the feeding. Moreover, there are no undisputed links to Sirach in the Markan text.

[131] §6.5; BDAG, 860; LSJ, 1460.

[132] Having come to this idea independently, I was interested to find the same conclusion reached by a more circuitous route (via the irrigation of vegetables in Egypt and the Song of Songs) in J. Duncan Derrett, 'Leek-Beds and Methodology', *BZ* 1 (1975): 101–3. I believe my argument is simpler and more plausible than Derrett's.

[133] HALOT 343-44.

[134] Discussed above in §6.3.

While the pattern of typology observed in previous chapters has not been used as consistently in the feeding miracles, Mark's playful use of distinctive words and expressions continues to indicate subtly his narrative allusions to scriptural miracle accounts.

## §6.10 Christology

It remains to discuss how recognising the scriptural allusions in Mark 6:30-45 and 8:1-10 informs our understanding of Mark's Christology.

### *§6.10.1 Jesus as Greater Prophet*

With regards to 2 Kgs 4:42-44 Jesus performs a greater miracle than Elisha.[135] There is less food to begin with and a greater number of people are fed. After Elisha's miracle they only "had some left" (4:44). Mark goes into detail about the huge amounts of food left over from Jesus' feedings (Mark 6:43; 8:8). Elisha implies that he is performing the miracle on the basis of a prediction from the Lord (2 Kgs 4:43). In contrast, Mark presents Jesus as the initiator of the miracles.

With regards to the manna in the desert the situation is more complicated. Six hundred thousand people are described in Num 11:21. Jesus thus feeds far fewer people. Yet in the Exodus story people are told not to collect the leftovers which will otherwise spoil (Exod 16:19-20). When Jesus' disciples collect the leftovers the implication by contrast is that the food he gives will not spoil.[136] Also there were no fish provided during Israel's wilderness journey but Jesus does provide fish, and so Jesus surpasses the miracle of the manna in that way also.[137] In Exod 16:4 the initiative for the manna is YHWH's and Moses takes no active part in the miracle's performance, he only proclaims it to the people (16:6-8). In contrast Jesus is both the initiator and performer of the miracles. There is no mention of God during

[135] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 344; Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark, I-VIII*, 156; Schnackenburg, *Jesus in the Gospels*, 31–32; Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 687; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 256; Boring, *Mark*, 185.

[136] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 421; Masuda, 'The Good News of the Miracle of the Bread', 207.

[137] Garland, *Mark*, 255; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 419.

Mark's accounts of the miracles. Jesus is thus presented as being in the line of Moses and Elisha but greater than them both.

### *§6.10.2 Jesus and the Eschaton*

Regarding the act of feeding crowds bread in the wilderness Feneberg states, "Es handelt sich um eine zeichenhafte Vorwegnahme des endzeitlichen Freudenmahls in der Herrschaft Gottes."[138] A number of features support this assertion.

In other early Christian uses of Psalm 23 there is a clear eschatological orientation to the use of the Psalm (Rev 7:17; 1 Clement 26:2).[139] This raises the question as to whether the use of Psalm 23 in Mark 6:30-45 also has eschatological connotations.

Several scriptures use the shepherd motif for a messianic figure. Ezekiel 34:23 reads, "I will set over them one shepherd, my servant David, and he shall feed them: he shall feed them and be their shepherd."[140] LXX Psalm 131:15 also combines the hope for a Davidic messiah with provision of food and with which Mark 6:42; 8:4 & 8 share the word, χορτάζω.[141] Micah 5:4-5 reads, "And he shall stand and feed his flock in the strength of the LORD, in the majesty of the name of the LORD his God. And they shall live secure, for now he shall be great to the ends of the earth; and he shall be the one of peace."[142] The Psalms of Solomon describe the coming eschatological son of David (17:21) as "faithfully and righteously shepherding the Lord's flock, he will not let any of them stumble in their pasture."[143] Additionally, Marcus notes that several Rabbinic texts interpret Psalm 23 eschatologically and messianically (*Gen. Rab.* 88.5; *Exod. Rab.* 25.7; 50.5; *Num. Rab.* 21.21).[144]

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[138] 'It is a symbolic anticipation of the eschatological banquet in the reign of God.' Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 165.

[139] Allison, 'Psalm 23 in Early Christianity', 132–34.

[140] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 248, 259; Owen, 'Jesus as God's Chief Agent in Mark's Christology', 54–55; see especially discussion in Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 297–301.

[141] Collins, *Mark*, 322–23.

[142] Note the messianic use of Micah 5:2 in Matt 2:6.

[143] Trans. R. B. Wright, OTP 2.668.

[144] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 408.

Likewise, the presentation of Jesus as a second but greater Moses and Elisha bears with it implications of eschatological significance. As the greatest of all prophets Jesus is endued with significance beyond discrete miracles as the "harbinger of the messianic age."[145] In particular, the return of the manna was a recurrent theme in Jewish eschatological texts.

- 2 Bar 29:8, "And it will happen at that time that the treasury of manna will come down again from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who will have arrived at the consummation of time."[146]
- *Mek. Exod* 16:25, answering the question, where will the manna be found now? "In the world to come you will find it . . . the world to come, the new world, the kingdom of the house of David"[147]
- *Tanḥ. Exod* 16:33 (*Beshalach Siman* 21), of the manna put aside in Exod 16:33 "R. Eliezer was of the opinion that it was put there for the Messianic era."[148]
- *Eccl. Rab 1:9*, "Just as the first redeemer brought down the manna, as it says 'Behold! I am going to rain down for you bread from heaven…' so too the last redeemer will bring down manna, as it says 'May there be an abundance of grain in the land…'"[149]

While the Rabbinic texts are too late to have influenced Mark, they demonstrate the plausibility of similar traditions existing among first-century Jews and Jewish Christians. They show the evocative power of Psalm 23 and the manna tradition within the context of

[145] Allison, 'Psalm 23 in Early Christianity', 135; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 419.

[146] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 262 n44; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 410; trans. A. F. J. Klijn, OTP 1.631.

[147] C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St Mark*, CGTC (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 222; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 410; trans. from https://www.sefaria.org/Mekhilta_d'Rabbi_Yishmael.16.25 accessed 26/11/2019.

[148] Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St Mark*, 222; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 410; trans. from https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tanchuma_Buber%2C_Beshalach.21 accessed 26/11/2019.

[149] Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St Mark*, 222; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 410; trans. from https://www.sefaria.org/Kohelet_Rabbah.1.9 accessed 26/11/2019. The Rabbah gives three parallels between Moses, the "first redeemer" and the "last redeemer", the messiah. Significantly, they are all also expressed in the NT Gospels regarding Jesus. They will both ride donkeys (Exod 4:20; Zech 9:9; cf. Mark 11:17 and pars.), they will both bring down bread from heaven (Exod 16:4; Ps 72:16; cf. Mark 6:30-45, etc), and they will both bring up water (Exod 17:1-7; Num 21:16; Joel 4:18; cf. John 7:38).

eschatological messianic expectation. Jesus' production of miraculous bread in the wilderness would thus carry a strong eschatological significance.

References to the numbering of people in 1 QS2:21; CD 13:1; 1QSa 1:14-15; 1QM 4:1-5 demonstrates the potential eschatological significance of recreating the divisions of Exodus Israel (Mark 6:40).[150] In particular the Damascus Document indicates that the community was to await the messiah in groups of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens (CD 13:1-2). It then goes on to say that the guardian/inspector of the camp will teach the people and "shall love them as a father loves his children, and shall carry them in their distress like a shepherd his sheep" (CD 13:7-8).[151] For Collins and Gnilka these parallels reinforce the possibility that the groups of hundreds and fifties in Mark 6:40 are also intended to be suggestive of an eschatological community.[152] However, this correspondence is limited as there are no mentions of tens and thousands in the Markan miracles, which there could easily have been if this was Mark's intention. The "tens" seem to have special significance in the Damascus Document. Likewise the camp inspector is not a messianic or eschatological figure but simply the community's resident legal expert and president. The correspondence between Mark 6:40 and Obadiah's hundreds and fifties in 1 Kgs 18:3-6 is closer.

Even less certain is whether the fish of Mark 6:30-45 and 8:1-10 is a reference to the eschatological expectation of eating leviathan at a banquet (2 Bar 29:3-8; 4 Ezra 6:49-52).[153] Stein finds this unlikely.[154] There is no early evidence of this tradition and the reference to Num 11:5 is a more satisfactory explanation for the prominence of the fish in the Markan narrative.

Notwithstanding, the use of the shepherd motif and manna traditions are more than sufficient to set the Markan feeding miracles within the context of eschatological messianic expectation

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[150] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 408.

[151] Translation from Géza Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, 2nd Rev. Ed., Studia Post-Biblica 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 142; see also Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1.573, 'He shall have pity on them like a father on his sons, and will heal all the <afflicted among them> like a shepherd his flock.'

[152] Collins, *Mark*, 324–25; Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.261.

[153] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 410; Hübenthal, *Das Markusevangelium als kollectives Gedächtnis*, 406–7. On this see also Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 168–69.

[154] Stein, *Mark*, 317.

and thus indicate Mark's view that Jesus is the messiah, come to fulfil the scriptures' promises for the last days.

### *§6.10.3 Jesus and the Eucharist*

Strengthening the sense of eschatological significance in both Markan feeding miracles is the sheer abundance of food. Given that, for most of history, most of humanity has spent most of its time seeking or working to create food, an abundant supply of free food is powerful image of a new age dawning.

The earliest extant reference to an eschatological banquet is Isa 25:6-8 which itself alludes to Exod 24:11.[155] Significantly Exod 24:11 describes the theophany of the seventy elders of Israel who ascend a mountain and see God, but are not harmed and eat and drink in his presence. In Isaiah 25:6-8 upon a mountain God makes "a feast of rich food" for all peoples and he himself consumes death.[156] A related theme may be present in 1 Enoch 10:19, where in the age to come vines, seeds and olives all produce abundant amounts.[157]

Similarly 2 Bar 29:4-8 (Syrian Apocalypse) the abundant food and drink includes the return of manna and is closely associated with the messiah.[158] While the Syrian Apocalypse is probably later than Mark,[159] it contributes to the Isaiah and Enoch texts above in showing that a superabundance of food could be associated with the age to come. Thus commentators are correct in seeing the feeding miracles as suggestive of a messianic/eschatological banquet.[160]

It has also been suggested that Mark 6:30-45 is linked to the Passover due to the form of a banquet and the green grass signifying spring time, when the Passover would have been held.[161] However, those features of the meal which are similar to a firstcentury Passover are

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[155] Nathan MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2008), 193–94; Collins, *Mark*, 323–24.

[156] Hübenthal (*Das Markusevangelium als kollectives Gedächtnis*, 406) also makes the connection between Isa 25 and Mark's feeding miracles.

[157] Collins, *Mark*, 323.

[158] Collins, *Mark*, 323.

[159] Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies*, 36; OTP 1:616-17.

[160] Garland, *Mark*, 254; Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 275; Stein, *Mark*, 315.

[161] Hartman, *Mark for the Nations*, 248; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 407–8.

generic to banquets of that era.[162] Equally, the green grass is far from a specific indication that a Passover meal is being intended, especially as it is more satisfactorily explained as an allusion to Psalm 23:2.

However, the lack of Passover imagery does not necessarily vitiate the suggestion of those that see a Eucharist in the feeding miracles. The Eucharistic words λαμβάνω, εὐλογέω, κλάω, and δίδωμι occur in Mark 6:41 in the same sequence as Mark 14:22.[163] Stein also observes that both meals happen at a late hour (6:35, 14:17).[164] Mark 8:6 uses εὐχαριστέω instead of εὐλογέω but otherwise maintains the order and vocabulary. Mark 14:25, "when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God", is recognised as lending an eschatological element to the celebration of the last supper.[165] And Pesch suggests that ἄρτους ἔκλασα (Mark 8:19) is a reference to the early Christian Eucharist (Acts 2:46, κλῶντές τε κατ᾽ οἶκον ἄρτον; 20:7, κλάσαι ἄρτον; 1 Cor 10:16, τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν).[166] Thus a Eucharistic interpretation of Mark's feeding miracles does not contradict the eschatological interpretation but further strengthens it.[167]

A number of criticisms have been levelled at the Eucharistic reading of the feeding miracles. G. H. Boobyer argues that the vocabulary is too generic to be decisive, in particular that κλάω is not a Eucharistic term in the Apostolic age.[168] Yet, while all the terminology shows up in other contexts, the same sequence of four such words is not repeated anywhere else in Mark. Within such a short work it is unlikely to be coincidence, especially when the pattern has been established in Mark 6:41 and in 8:6 before appearing a third time in 14:22. Furthermore, contrary to Boobyer's claim that "there is no evidence that κλᾶν (or κατακλᾶν?) ἄρτον, were

[162] Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 147–50.

[163] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 262; Stein, *Mark*, 316; Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels*, 96.

[164] Stein, *Mark*, 316.

[165] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 967–68; Schweizer, *Good News According to Mark*, 304–5; Myers, *Binding the Strong Man*, 340.

[166] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.414-15.

[167] Although Koch (Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 103) detects no sign of Markan editorial awareness of the Eucharistic theme, that is to wrongly assume that Mark was not aware of or using the eucharistic theme already present in the tradition.

[168] G. H. Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', *JTS* 3 (1952): 162.

ever specifically Eucharistic terms in the apostolic age,"[169] is the evidence of the Didache where the bread is twice termed as κλάσμα.

> 9:1 Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε 2 πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας 3 περὶ δὲ **τοῦ κλάσματος** Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας 4 ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο **τὸ κλάσμα** διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Did 9:1-4)

Not only so, but in Did 9:4 the κλάσμα is described as being scattered over the hills and gathered (συνάγω) together to become one. This is surely a metaphorical use of the bread fragments for the gathered church as the fragments featured in the feeding miracle narratives. Thus the Didache links the Eucharist to the feeding miracles.[170] Also, συνάγω (Did 9:4 x2) is a word which features strongly in the LXX accounts of the manna and quail (Exod 16:5, 16; Num 11:16, 22, 24, 32). Just as the church is gathered into the kingdom by the Eucharist, the apostles gathered (συνάγω) to Jesus for the feeding of the five thousand (Mark 6:30).

Boobyer also objects that "Bread and fish cannot represent the body and blood of Christ."[171] This is to assume that all early Christian Eucharists needed to represent the body and blood of Christ. Rather, in the early church we find evidence of much greater diversity in the understanding and performance of the Eucharist. For example, wine was not an essential part of the Eucharistic liturgy for centuries (Cyprian *Ep*. 63:1-14).[172] The Eucharist could be understood as a transformative eschatological feeding rather than participation in a (flesh and blood) sacrifice (Irenaeus, *Ad Haer* 4.18.5).[173]

The evidence of the Roman catacombs, which Boobyer dismisses out of hand,[174] cannot be determinative for Mark, but do show how the feeding miracles were read in the early

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[169] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 162.

[170] Paul F. Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2010), 4–5, 41; Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2012), 15.

[171] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 166.

[172] Bradshaw and Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies*, 13–14.

[173] Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*, 8.

[174] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 166.

centuries of Christianity. "In these places of burial . . . we find also frequent representations of meals which combine eucharistic imagery with allusions to the feeding miracles . . ."[175] The circa second century Cappella Graeca of the catacomb of Priscilla contains a painting of six people reclining on a dining couch, a cup and two fishes and five loaves, with a seated president distributing the food. To the side there are seven baskets. Wainwright states that these are "transparent allusions to the feeding miracles, while the cup makes the eucharistic meaning clear."[176] In the circa third century Chapels of the Sacraments in the catacomb of Callixtus a eucharistic frescoe combines the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, a meal of seven people, and the sacrifice of Issac. In the circa fourth century catacomb of St Peter and St Marcellinus the sides of the vault of the arcosolium depict a heavenly banquet alongside Jesus turning water into wine and multiplying the loaves. "This conjunction of the loaves and of the wine, clearly intended to suggest the eucharist, is often found in another place of Christian hope; the two scenes are sculpted on many sarcophagi."[177] What this tells us is that for those closer in time, language and culture to the first century CE than us, it was more than possible to view the feeding miracles as connected in a profound way to the Eucharist.

Boobyer also argues against scholars who see 1 Corinthians 10, where Paul presents the manna as a type of Eucharist, as supporting a Eucharistic interpretation of the feeding miracles.[178] While the question of Mark's relationship with Paul must remain moot within this study, 1 Corinthians 10 does demonstrate that within at least a part of the early church a connection was made between the manna and the Eucharist. Having identified allusions to the manna and quail narratives (Exod 16, Num 11) in Mark 6:30-45, it is entirely reasonable that Mark should have made the same connection, linking the manna and the Eucharist as Paul does in 1 Cor 10:3, 16, in the Gospel's account of the feeding of the five thousand.

Finally, Boobyer rightly recognises the significance of Mark 8:14-20 in determining the meaning of the feeding miracles. However, he wrongly assumes that, just because the

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[175] Geoffrey Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London: Epworth Press, 1971), 42.

[176] Wainwright, 42.

[177] Wainwright, 43. Wainwright's sources are the following works: J. Wilpert, *Fractio Panis: die älteste Darstellung des eucharistischen Opfers in der 'Cappela Graeca'* (Freiburg, 1895); idem, *Die Malerien der Sakramentskapellen in der Katacombe des hl. Callistus* (Freiburg, 1897); G. (=J.) Wilpert, *Roma sotteranea: Le pitture delle catacombe romane* (Rome, 1903).

[178] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 166–68.

interpretation given in 8:14-20 does not explicitly suggest 1 Corinthians 10 or the Last Supper, the Eucharistic interpretation of 6:30-45 is thereby vitiated.[179] There is no reason why one meaning should exclude another, especially if those meanings are complementary, as in, e.g., the combination of the shepherd motif and the manna typology. Indeed, many commentators do find a Eucharistic reference in 8:14, to Jesus as the "one loaf."[180] Thus the sharing of the bread in the desert among the multitudes could be understood as an illustration of the way Jesus is shared and partaken of in the Eucharist.

Finally, the Gospel of John has foot washing, not bread and wine at the last supper (John 13:1-20) and has Jesus' body and blood offered as real food and drink immediately after the feeding of the five thousand (John 6:52-59). In John's feeding miracle we see many implicit themes in Mark's feeding miracles become explicit. Jesus is the bread from heaven, the manna that gives life (6:35, 41, 48). Jesus is the one like, predicted by, and greater than Moses (5:46; 6:49, 58). The Eucharist is eschatological and transformative, eating it gives the Christ-believer eternal life (6:51, 54, 58), the focus is not on the sacrifice or remission of sins. Here is not the place to discuss the relationship between Mark and John, but at the very least we can see another early interpreter of the Jesus traditions combining the feeding miracles with the Eucharist, within an eschatological framework.[181]

Importantly, both John 6 and 1 Corinthians 10 combine discussion of the Eucharist with discussion of Moses and the Exodus. Consequently, the recognition of the scriptural typology of the manna miracles in Mark's feeding miracles serves to reinforce the Eucharistic interpretation.[182] The structural allusion to 2 Kings 4:42-44 also serves a Eucharistic interpretation because Elisha's meal of sacred first-fruits instituted by "the word of the LORD" has a sacramental character.[183]

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[179] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 168.

[180] Boring, *Mark*, 226–27; Garland, *Mark*, 310; Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 132.

[181] See further Boring, *Mark*, 186–87.

[182] E.g., Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 964, 'I find it difficult to believe that any version of the miracle of the feeding of the multitude could have been told in a first-generation Christian community without reverberating with eucharistic echoes.' Also Drewermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, 436-37 n10; Stegner, *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity*, 77–78.

[183] Gray, *I & II Kings*, 501–2; Lindars, 'Elijah, Elisha and the Gospel Miracles', 74; cf. Lev 2:14, 23; 23:17-20; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 255.

### *§6.10.4 Jesus and the Gentile Mission*

The puzzle remains as to why there are two very similar feeding miracles, what their cumulative effect is intended to be, and what we are to make of Jesus' conversation with the disciples in Mark 8:14-21? That dialogue presents as the key to understanding the significance of the feeding miracles.[184] Jesus' warning in Mark 8:15 "beware the yeast of the Pharisees and the yeast of Herod" serves to keep the contrast with Herod, established in Mark 6 (§6.3), prominent. The contrast is initially between the two banquets. Herod feeds only "his courtiers and officers and . . . the leaders of Galilee" (Mark 6:21) and his banquet ends in the death of a prophet, who figuratively becomes a part of the meal by having his head put on a plate. The Pharisees, on the other hand, had just been rebuked during a meal (7:2) with the words of Isaiah 29:13. In contrast to the Pharisees and their teaching, which voids the word of God and brings people in danger of death (Mark 7:9-13), Jesus will go on to enact Isaiah 29:18-19.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18 καὶ ἀκούσονται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ κωφοὶ λόγους βιβλίου καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁμίχλῃ ὀφθαλμοὶ τυφλῶν βλέψονται 19 καὶ ἀγαλλιάσονται πτωχοὶ διὰ κύριον ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπηλπισμένοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμπλησθήσονται εὐφροσύνης | 18 On that day the deaf shall hear the words of a scroll, and as for those who are in the darkness and those who are in the fog, the eyes of the blind shall see. 19 And the poor shall be glad with joy because of the Lord, and those despairing among people shall be filled with joy. (NETS) |

Thus the healing of the deaf man (κωφός) in Mark 7:31-37 corresponds to the deaf (κωφοὶ) in Isa 29:18. The healing of the blind man (τυφλός) in Mark 8:22-29 corresponds to the blind (τυφλοί) in Isa 29:18. Note also the reference to being filled (Isa 29:19, ἐμπίπλημι; cf. LXX Ps 77:29).

We thus have four meals in Mark 6-8. Herod's birthday is contrasted with the feeding of the five thousand, and the disciples' and Pharisees' hand-washing controversy meal is contrasted with the feeding of the four thousand. Both Herod and the Pharisees are portrayed as those whose meals result in death (Mark 6:16, 27-29; 7:10). By contrast then, it is implied that Jesus' meals bring life.

How then does the feeding of the four thousand contrast with the Markan Pharisees' traditions and hypocrisy? When the feeding of the four thousand is contrasted with the

[184] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 168; Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 130.

feeding of the five thousand, two factors stand out. These same two factors are what Jesus highlights in his dialogue with the disciples (8:14-21). First is the numbers. Twelve baskets full (6:43; 8:19) is most likely a reference to Israel, as are the other times that twelve is mentioned in Mark (e.g. 3:14; 5:25, 42, as discussed in §5).[185] Thus the twelve baskets suggest "the eschatological fullness of the people of God".[186] The seven baskets full, like the seven days of creation, suggest completion and fullness;[187] or "God's vigilance over the whole earth,"[188] as in the seven "eyes of the LORD, which range through the whole earth" (Zech 4:10); or even "der 7 noachischen Gebote."[189] Perhaps, as seven churches represented the whole church in Asia Minor (Revelation 2-3), and seven deacons represented the Hellenist Christ-believers (Acts 6:1-7),[190] the seven baskets here suggest the whole region of the Decapolis where the feeding takes place. As with the number of days of creation, the fullness is not restricted to Israel but to all humanity.[191] Correspondingly, the four thousand people in Mark 8:9 would then represent the four winds of heaven (Zech 6:5, cf. Mark 13:27) which come from the ends of the earth.[192]

Stein, however, denies the numerological significance of the baskets, "Mark gives no hint to his readers that the numbers . . . possess any symbolic significance. It is best therefore not to find any symbolic significance in them."[193] Similarly, Gnilka states, "Auf sehr unsicheren Boden begibt man sich bei einer symbolischen Deutung der Zahlen."[194] Such a view is hard

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[185] Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 122; Chilton et al., *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark*, 251; for a discussion and literature on the significance of the number 12 in Greek contexts, see Mayr, 'Epiphanen und Heilungen', 127–30.

[186] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 411; see also Collins, *Mark*, 326; Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 130.

[187] Mayr, 'Epiphanen und Heilungen', 120.

[188] Chilton et al., *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark*, 251.

[189] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.403.

[190] Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 22–23.

[191] Cf. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, 90, τὴν δ' ἑβδομάδος φύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἱκανῶς ἂν ὑμνῆσαι δύναιτο παντὸς οὖσαν λόγου κρείττονα.

[192] Chilton et al., *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark*, 251.

[193] Stein, *Mark*, 314, also 317.

[194] 'One goes onto very insecure ground with a symbolic interpretation of the numbers.' Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1.262.

to account for given the dialogue of 8:14-21, but the numbers on their own, especially the seven baskets, are indeed too vague to draw any firm conclusions.[195]

The second factor is the word choice around "baskets". In Mark 6:43 and 8:19 κόφινος is used. In Mark 8:8 and 8:20 σπυρίς is used. Both terms refer to baskets of indeterminate size in which provisions could be carried.[196] While semantically they may appear to be interchangeable words, what is noticeable is that Mark does not treat them interchangeably but maintains the distinction between them in the feeding narratives and the later dialogue about them.[197] It seems possible that κόφινος was particularly associated with Jews, as Juvenal twice uses a Latinised form of κόφινος as a part of his caricature of Jews.[198]

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|---|---|
| Sed dum tota domus raeda componitur una, substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam, hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae, nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur Iudaeis, quorum **cophinus** faenumque supellex . . .<br>(*Sat.* 3:10-16) | As the whole of his house was being loaded onto a single wagon, he lingered beside the damp old arch of the Porta Capena. At the place where Numa used to meet his sweetheart at night-time, where now the grove, with its holy spring and Temple, is rented to Jews, whose paraphernalia consists of a hay-lined **basket** . . .[199] |
| Cum dedit ille locum, **cophino** faenoque relicto arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem, interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli. (*Sat.* 6:542-46) | When he has moved on, a palsied Jewess puts down her hay **basket** and comes a-begging, whispering secretly into her ear. She interprets the laws of Jerusalem, she is the priestess of the tree, who truly covers the will of highest heaven.[200] |

Even so, it is hardly clear, as the only other biblical or patristic use of either of these words outside of the feeding miracles is Acts 9:25 where Paul is let down a wall in a σπυρίς by other Jews, albeit in Damascus. That is, there are no other NT, LXX, or Apostolic texts that suggest an ethnic differentiation between κόφινος and σπυρίς should be made. LSJ, which suggests "used especially by Jews," only gives Juvenal (cited above) and Matt 16:9 in

[195] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 343.

[196] For κόφινος, see BDAG, 563; LSJ, 988; GE, 1169. For σπυρίς, see BDAG, 940; LSJ, 1631; GE, 1950.

[197] Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels*, 98.

[198] LSJ, 988; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 413; Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 132; Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 18.

[199] Niall Rudd, trans., *Juvenal: The Satires* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 15, adapted.

[200] Rudd, *Juvenal*, 56, adapted.

support.[201] Indeed, Josephus's single use of κόφινος, in his description of a Roman soldier's equipment (*J.W.* 3:95), rather argues the opposite. Additionally, the fact that Matthew preserves the distinction between baskets despite otherwise editing away from the other possible Gentile markers in the second feeding in Mark (including changing the location) suggests that it cannot have had the same significance for Matthew (Matt 14:20; 15:39; 16:9, 10).[202]

At best the numbers, and to a lesser extent the baskets, provide a vague hint that the second feeding is given to Gentiles and is symbolic of Gentile inclusion in the eschatological people of God.[203]

One further hint was mentioned above, following Danker and Masuda: "three days" (Mark 8:2; cf. Jos 9:16) and "from afar" (Mark 8:3, cf. LXX Jos 9:6, 9, 22) create a link with Josh 9 and are thus also suggestive of gentiles.[204] Mark's only use of ἥκω (8:3) may also serve to link to Josh 9:6, 9. However, such a tentative interpretation is made more secure by attention to the narrative context of the story. After Jesus' confrontation with the Pharisees he sets out to the region of Tyre (Mark 7:24). Now in Gentile territory he encounters a woman, "a Gentile, of Syrophoenecian origin" (7:26). This introductory pleonasm is no mere hint, but sets the scene for the ensuing dialogue which is entirely about the right of the Gentiles to "eat" the blessings of Jesus' ministry (7:28). Initially it seems uncertain as to whether Jesus will help the woman's daughter, but in response to her confident and playful responses he does, thus demonstrating that the kingdom blessings which Jesus brings are for all people. Jesus then returns to the Gentile region of the Decapolis (7:31), where he heals another presumed Gentile (in accordance with Isaiah 29:18 and 35:5-6 and probably Isa 56 as well; Mark 7:32-37). Then without any change in location he feeds the four thousand (8:1-9), before returning to Dalmutha where he once again encounters the Pharisees who demand a sign (8:10-12). Salzmann astutely writes of the woman in Mark 7:24-30, "When she is denied his ministry,

[201] LSJ, 988.

[202] *Pace* Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 133. See detailed discussion in J. R. C. Cousland, 'The Feeding of the Four Thousand Gentiles in Matthew? Matthew 15:29-39 as a Test Case', *NovT* 41 (1999): 8–23.

[203] Cousland ('The Feeding of the Four Thousand Gentiles in Matthew?', 4) correctly judges them to be 'tenuous bases'.

[204] Masuda, 'The Good News of the Miracle of the Bread', 205; Danker, 'Mark 8:3'; also Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 404; *pace* Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 109.

she asks for "a crumb" fallen from the table: the daughter is healed, and soon seven baskets of bread crumbs will be offered to the reader—perhaps as Jesus' ultimate answer to the faith-filled plea of the gentile woman."[205]

The strongest indications of the Gentile identity of the crowd in 8:1-10 come from the narrative geographical markers which place the second feeding miracle in Gentile territory.[206] In contrast to the first feeding the location of the second is in the Decapolis region, on the other side of the sea, and in the wilderness. A further difference in the feeding stories is that Jesus' response to the crowd does not emerge from recognising them as the lost sheep of Israel (6:34) but as hungry humans.[207] Wefal also suggests the disciples' apparent reluctance to feed them results from the Gentile character of the crowd,[208] and that the number four thousand represents the four corners of the earth.[209]

Boobyer, reading the feedings in their narrative context, seems justified to conclude, "All the nations of the earth are hungry and in need of the bread which God gives, so that although it has been thought of as pre-eminently the children's bread it must be shared with Gentiles."[210] That is all to say that the strong implication of the narrative context is that the four thousand are to be understood as residents of the Decapolis, and Gentiles.[211] Thus the numbers and possibly baskets, which on their own are just vague hints, clearly align with the Jewish-Gentile contrast between the two feeding narratives.[212]

This narrative progression can be seen clearly by following the word χορτάζω, which served the shepherd motif. In Mark 6:42 it describes the Jewish crowd being filled. However, in

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[205] Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 131; see also Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology*, 29.

[206] Boring, *Mark*, 219; Broadhead, *Teaching with Authority*, 136; Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 20; Feneberg, *Der Jude Jesus und die Heiden*, 130, 140–41, 152–73.

[207] Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 19; Boring, *Mark*, 219; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 402–3.

[208] Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 19.

[209] Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 24.

[210] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 171; also Wefal, 'The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark', 25.

[211] Bosenius, *Der literarische Raum des Markusevangeliums*, 233.

[212] See also Boring, *Mark*, 180.

Mark 7:27 Jesus tells the Syrophoenecian woman that the "dogs" cannot eat until the "children" have been fed, or filled, χορτάζω. The irony here, of course, is that the reader and Jesus know that the "children" have just been filled. Hence Jesus does heal her daughter and then goes on to feed/fill the Gentiles. In 8:4 the disciples question how the crowd is to be satisfied, χορτάζω. If their question seems incongruous after the first feeding it serves Mark's purpose in showing the feeding of the Gentiles as a new problem, not solved by the feeding of the Jews, but ultimately with the same solution. So in 8:8 the Gentile crowd are also filled, χορτάζω. These are the only four uses of χορτάζω in Mark. The shepherd is bringing fullness to God's people from both the Jewish and Gentile flocks.

Jesus' bread is to be contrasted with the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod (Mark 8:5). Herod's meal is socially exclusive. The Pharisees' meals are ethnically and religiously exclusive. Jesus' meals are of a different nature altogether.[213] In the second one, shared with the Gentiles, he confirms that his messiahship is one which will call and embrace the Gentiles into God's kingdom (Isa 60:6–12; 49:6).[214]

With all the factors taken together it seems fair to conclude that meaning of the second feeding miracle was Gentile inclusion in Jesus' eschatological Eucharistic kingdom feast. Thus part of what was to be understood by the term "Christ" in Mark 8:29 was that Jesus was the messiah who would include the Gentiles in God's eschatological people.

If this is so, one might ask the question, why isn't Mark's Jesus more direct in embracing Gentiles? For Salzmann, "The answer seems to lie between, on the one hand, the historical fact that the apostles did extend their ministry to the gentiles, and, on the other hand, their initial resistance to do exactly that."[215] An alternative reply is that Mark may well have been direct for those among Mark's original readers who were able to parse correctly the meaning of the numbers, names of baskets, and intertextual and narrative clues. What seems cryptic to us may have been obvious to them.

However, by recognising the scriptural typology within the passage this conclusion may be further reinforced. As Salzmann observes, messianic expectation, while diverse, generally

[213] Boobyer, 'The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles of the Loaves in St Mark's Gospel', 168.

[214] Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 130.

[215] Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 132.

anticipated a significant change in the way God's people related to the Gentiles.[216] This would either be in terms of military conquest and imperial dominion over the Gentiles (*Pss. Sol.* 17) or inclusion of them in the people of God and the covenant blessings (e.g. Isa 60:1-6). The latter hope became a significant factor in the spread of Christianity beyond its Jewish roots.[217]

More pertinent here is the Elisha typology. While in 2 Kgs 4:42-44 Elisha miraculously feeds a hundred prophets there is a later miracle when a marauding army of Arameans is blinded (2 Kgs 6:8-23). These Arameans are not slain but taken to the king of Israel. Elisha commands the king, "Set (παρατίθημι) food and water before them so that they may eat and drink" (6:22) and the king "prepared (παρατίθημι) for them a great feast" (6:23). It is possible that this account influenced Mark 6:41 which has Jesus give the broken loaves to his disciples to set (παρατίθημι) before the people. But the significantly shorter account of 8:1-10 uses παρατίθημι three times, the second and third times of which appear redundant. Even if we attribute the overuse of παρατίθημι to Mark's poor editing, the Elisha typology corresponds well to a Gentile feeding as Elisha is the only scriptural prophet to have a feast set before Gentiles. Additionally Elisha's healing of Naaman and Naaman's conversion to the Lord (2 Kgs 5:1-19) presents him as a prototypical prophet of Gentile inclusion. In Mark 8:1-10, then, the Moses typology is much reduced but the Elisha typology becomes more significant. Thus recognising the Elisha typology present in the feeding miracles strengthens the Gentile inclusion interpretation of Mark 8:1-10.

### *§6.10.5 Jesus and the God of Israel*

France writes, "this narrative has echoes . . . both of past miracles and of the future eucharistic feast. . . [but] surely the primary purpose in Mark's inclusion of this story [is] the sheer wonder of an 'impossible' act, and the testimony which this provides in answer to the

[216] Salzmann, 'Do You Still Not Understand?', 130.

[217] It is perhaps worth noting that Moses' marriage to an Ethiopian (Num 12:1) was considered a type of the Gentile "in-grafting" (cf. Rom 11:17) to God's people in the early church (Iren. *Haer.* IV.20.12; Origen *Hom. Num.* 6.4.2; *Hom. Song.* 1.6). On this see Karl Shuve, 'Irenaeus' Contribution to Early Christian Interpretation of the Song of Songs', in *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*, ed. Paul Foster and Sara Parvis (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2012), 85–86; Westerholm and Westerholm, *Reading Sacred Scripture*, 57.

growing Christological question."[218] I would argue, however, that the superlative nature of the miracle is less Christologically significant for Mark than the typological aspect.

To begin with, as already noted, feeding five thousand and four thousand hardly compares to the six hundred thousand of the Exodus narrative (Num 11:21). Yes, it is an extraordinary act of power, and far surpasses Elisha (2 Kgs 4:42-44), but, as I have argued, given Mark's choice to lexically link to Numbers 11,[219] comparison of power cannot be the primary motive.

On the other hand, consideration of the three scriptural typological *topoi* identified above generates another possible emphasis. Firstly, the shepherd motif has the potential for some ambiguity. While Moses, Joshua and David are all cast as shepherds, frequently in prophetic literature the true and good shepherd of Israel is the Lord. A pertinent example of this is, of course, Ps 23:1, יהוה רעי, YHWH is my shepherd. By assuming the role of shepherd and making the people lie down on the green grass and satisfying them with abundant food Jesus steps into the role of YHWH in Ps 23.

Second, the narrative that the feeding accounts most closely resemble in structure, 2 Kgs 4:42-44, twice emphasises that the miracle is performed according to the word of YHWH using the formulas, כה אמר יהוה (4:43), and כדבר יהוה (4:44). Yet in Mark there is no such emphasis, rather the miracles are performed at the initiative and behest of Jesus (Mark 6:37-41; 8:2-6). As well as playing the role of Elisha, the prophet, Jesus also steps into the role of Israel's God.

Third, the narrative of Numbers 11, linked to by the fish and the word play on πράσον/πράσια, and the manna miracles in general, are miracles not performed by a prophet, but by God. Again in the accounts there is an emphasis on God's word (e.g. Exod 16:4, 11-12, 28-29; Num 11:23, 24). Not only so, but the purpose of the manna is twofold: to feed the people and to teach them that YHWH is their God (Exod 16:12).[220] When Numbers 11 is read against Mark 6:30-45 and 8:1-10, a surprising feature is the disciples' taking on of Moses' role in their complaints:

- Num 11:13 "Where am I to get meat for all these people?"

[218] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 263; also Stein, *Mark*, 318–19.

[219] See §6.9.

[220] Collins, *Mark*, 322.

- Num 11:22 “Are there enough flocks and herds to slaughter for them? Are there enough fish in the sea to catch for them?”
- Mark 6:37 “Are we to go and buy two hundred denarii worth of bread, and give it to them to eat?”
- Mark 8:4 “How can we feed these people with bread here in the desert?”

Therefore, in comparison with Numbers 11, Jesus, in provoking and answering the disciples’ questions, and in miraculously providing the food, plays the narrative role, not of Moses, but of God.

With the use of each typological *topos* there is to be found a possible Christological twist, whereby Jesus takes on the role, not just of the human prophets from the scriptural narratives, but also of Israel’s God. I can now argue that this pattern is consistently applied across the miracle catena of Mark 4:35-6:45. By the use of a literary typology and use of meaningful key words, Mark identifies the messiah Jesus with the scriptural portrayal of Israel’s Lord. In many of these instances the twist is subtle. However, the consistent pattern argues for a deliberate and significant feature for interpretation.

## §6.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to demonstrate the significance of the scriptural background to the Markan feeding miracles. Not only does recognising Ps 23, 2 Kgs 4:42-44 and Numbers 11, help explain a number of peculiarities in the text but it also sheds light on other interpretive issues, including the contested question of Eucharistic interpretation of the miracles and Gentile inclusion. Importantly, the analysis reveals two pertinent features which have also been found in the miracles of Mark 4:35-6:45. That is, rare words or phrases from the LXX are used to confirm the link to typological scriptural narratives. Those same narratives illuminate a Christological twist when read beside their Markan counterparts which consistently reveals Jesus to be acting in the roles that Israel’s God took in the corresponding scriptural stories.

## §7 Typology and Christology in the Context of Mark's Gospel

> *And the Great Glory was sitting upon it—as for his gown, which was shining more brightly than the sun, it was whiter than any snow.* (1 Enoch 14:20)

In this chapter I will summarise the results of the preceding exegetical chapters (§§3-6). Then I will briefly discuss other pertinent passages in Mark's Gospel with broadly similar uses of scriptural typology, in order to demonstrate that the Christological typology argued for in the miracle accounts is consistent with the Gospel's wider presentation of Jesus.

### §7.1 The Typological Method and Christology in the Markan Miracles

Each exegetical chapter (§§3-6) has elaborated on the Christological significance of the scriptural typology present in the Gospel texts discussed. While there was some significant diversity in the results there were several important recurring themes which require synthesis.

#### *§7.1.1 Jesus as Typological Fulfilment of Human Agents of Salvation History*

In each Markan miracle narrative considered I have argued that Jesus is portrayed after the pattern of a significant character from the scriptures: In Mark 4:35-41 Jesus played the part of Jonah; in Mark 5:1-20 Jesus played the part of David; in Mark 5:21-43 Jesus played the part of Elisha; and in Mark 6:30-44 and 8:1-10 Jesus played the part of Moses and of Elisha.

By presenting Jesus as a new Jonah, David, Elisha or Moses, Mark enlists scriptural authority for Jesus.[1] Jesus is like these scriptural figures and should be accorded the respect due to them. Further, the recent events of Jesus' ministry and death, and the community's experience of his resurrection, require interpretation. The natural framework by which Jesus should be interpreted is the scriptures. By aligning Jesus with these scriptural characters Mark provides an implicit commentary on who Jesus is and what he means. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, Mark demonstrates his concern to show Jesus in continuity with the scriptural past. He presents Jesus as a continuation of God's work begun in earlier times.

[1] Arguably the miracles also serve the greater theme of Jesus' authority, so Koch, *Die Bedeutung der Wundererzählungen*, 182.

As one like Jonah, David, Elisha and Moses, he is an agent of God as they were. He is performing momentous and significant deeds as they did. His life will give identity, inspiration and instruction to God's people, just as they did.

However, I have also argued that in each miracle Mark has been concerned to show Jesus as one greater than those scriptural characters. If Jesus is the one who "fulfils the time" then there is a need for Jesus' deeds to surpass those of his predecessors. This is no easy task for Mark. Jesus has not physically delivered an entire people group from slavery and led them across a desert like Moses. Jesus has not become a popular and militarily successful king like David. Jesus has not brought an entire city to repentance like Jonah. Jesus has not decisively dealt with foreign invaders like Elisha.

Because Jesus cannot compete with the scale of the scriptural miracles, Mark uses his scriptural typology to show how Jesus is greater in other ways. So, Jesus is greater than Jonah because he calms the storm himself (§3.8.4). Jesus is greater than David because he casts out many evil spirits and then destroys them (§4.12.4). Jesus is greater than Elisha because the hem of his garment heals when Elisha's staff failed to do so (§5.7.7). Jesus is greater than Elisha because Jesus heals on his own word, while Elisha has to pray (§5.7.8). Jesus is also greater than Elisha because he feeds more people (though less than Moses did), but he is greater than Moses because he can give fish in the wilderness as well as bread (§6.10.1), to both Jew and Gentile (§6.10.4).

Placing analogous narrative figures in simultaneous comparison and contrast is a key function of typology (§2.7.5). By calling to mind specific stories from the Jewish scriptures for his readers, Mark alerts them to the comparisons he wishes to draw. For Mark, Jesus is both the continuation and culmination of God's work in Salvation History. Although the coming kingdom appears to have small beginnings – that is, the limited scale of Jesus' ministry and miracles – it will in fact prove to be the greatest of all God's works (cf. Mark 4:30-32).

### *§7.1.2 Jesus as Typologically Theomorphic*

There is a further implication of the way that Mark portrays Jesus as greater than the scriptural heroes. In addition to portraying Jesus according to the pattern of human heroes Jesus also appears to take on the role of God. This is most apparent in Mark 4:35-41 where Jesus and not God calms the storm (§3.8.4). The obviously divine role played by Jesus in

Mark 4:35-41 primes the reader for the more subtle implications of the following miracles. In Mark 5:1-20 the issue is the role the divine name played in David's encounter with Goliath (§4.12.8). In Mark 5:21-43 it is Jesus' lack of prayer in contrast to Elisha which implies he is himself the source of healing power (§5.7.8). In Mark 6:30-45 and 8:1-10 it is both that the miracle is performed according to Jesus' word, not God's as in 2 Kgs 4:42-44 and Exodus 16, and that the disciples take up a position relative to Jesus reminiscent of Moses' position relative to God (§6.10.5). In all the miracles, neither prayer nor divine intervention are the source of power but rather it is Jesus.

Perhaps it could be argued that such subtle implications are simply an unintended consequence of Mark's escalated typological figuring of Jesus. It is subtle. However, a couple of points mitigate against this being an unintended by-product of different concerns. First, we have to reckon with the observable tendency in early Jewish writing to protect the agency of God against the impression that human technique or influence was responsible for a miracle.[2] Rabbinic miracles, for example, are consistently and explicitly the result of prayer rather than allowing any suggestion the source of power could be the rabbi himself.[3] Against such a background it seems unlikely that a Jewish author would unintentionally write narratives that give the opposite suggestion: that Jesus is the source of power and that God is not invoked or petitioned in the performance of any of his miracles. The most likely explanation is that Mark intended to give this effect.

The second consideration is how this narrative identification of Jesus with the God of Israel can be observed throughout the Gospel displaying a similar level of subtlety throughout.[4] The

[2] This case is made at length by Yair Zakovich, *The Concept of the Miracle in the Bible* (Tel Aviv: MOD Books, 1990). One example, given on pp. 90-91 is that of Exod 14:31 where Moses, along with the God of Israel, is a recipient of faith because of the crossing of the Red Sea miracle. However, subsequently God alone is accredited in reflections upon the miracle (Exod 15:1; 10; 12; Josh 2:10; 4:23; Neh 9:11. Ps 66:5-6; 114:1-3; 78:13; 106:9-11; 136:13-15).

[3] Note, for example, how in the cases of Onias/Honi (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.2.1 (21); *m. Ta'an.* 3:8) and Gamaliel (*b. B. Meṣi'a* 59b) the rabbis are explicitly depicted as praying and the miracle is God's. The rabbis' achievement is to have such piety that God listens to them, but they do not have power in themselves.

[4] To be discussed below, later in this chapter.

consistency of the pattern suggests intention. The most likely conclusion is that Mark intends his readers to perceive something profound about Jesus' relationship to God.[5]

### *§7.1.3 Jesus' Prototypical Gentile Mission*

Alongside of the fulfilment and theomorphic typologies, a third theme has been consistently present, albeit to varying degrees. Jesus' identification with Jonah in Mark 4:35-41 creates an expectation that he is heading into Gentile territory (§3.8.7). While there is some controversy in the literature as to whether or not the Gerasene demoniac would have been a Jew or a Gentile, this question is not directly germane to the literary use to which Mark puts him. Figured as a Philistine and narrated as a citizen of the Decapolis, the demoniac becomes the beachhead for Jesus' proclamation outside of the border of Galilee and Judea and the ethno-religious boundary of Judaism.

The David typology in Mark 5:1-20 raises the question of Jesus' relation to the Gentiles. David was a conqueror of the nations, but also a diplomat – his reign was remembered as bringing peace (2 Sam 10:19; 1 Chron 19:19; 22:18; 23:25). So when Jesus is figured as David the question emerges, what will Jesus' relationship be to the nations? Messianic expectation was highly varied but in general a common core was the expectation the messiah would destroy Israel's enemies, the Gentile nations (Pss. Sol. 17:21-25; 4QpIsa$^{a}$ [4Q161] 8-10.3.11-24; 4 Ezra 12:31-34; 2 Bar 72:1-6).[6] Mark's Jesus, however, does not set himself up in opposition to the Gentiles. He is opposed to the Pharisees, scribes and Herodians and, in the exorcism accounts, to the house of Satan (Mark 3:20-30). Through the typology of the account of the Gerasene demoniac, the messiah's destruction of the enemies of Israel is transposed from a war against human, Gentile enemies, into a war against spiritual, demonic enemies.

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[5] To be discussed in the next chapter.

[6] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 52–78. At the same time this view was complicated by the hope that Gentiles would come to worship the God of Israel (e.g. Isa 2:2-3; 45:6) and share in Israel's salvation (e.g. Tob 14:6-7; 1 Enoch 90:30-33). See further Schnabel, 'Jesus and the Beginnings of the Mission to the Gentiles', 41; E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia, Phil.: Fortress, 1987), 213–18.

In the *Sitz im Leben* of Mark's Gospel the Gentile question doubtlessly remains a significant one. The letters of Paul, especially Galatians and Romans, show that Gentile inclusion was a controversial issue in the early Church.[7] Mark's use of typology would have contributed to this debate by showing not just that Jesus was inclusive of Gentiles but also how that inclusivity was consistent with God's actions in the past. And so the stories of Elisha interacting with Gentiles are brought to mind (§5.7.4). But to make his point further, the second feeding miracle – this time of a crowd from the Decapolis – evokes both Elisha and the Arameans (2 Kgs 6:8-23) and Joshua and the Gibeonites (Joshua 9).[8]

Mark presents Jesus' mission to the Gentiles as typological fulfilment of Jonah, David, and Elisha, and also the prototype for the early church's own missionary activity among the nations.

### *§7.1.4 Four Typologies of the Markan Miracles*

This study has demonstrated a *literary typology* is at work in the Markan miracles of 4:35-6:45. Analysis shows that this literary feature is indicative of three different real typologies. *Fulfillment typology* relates Jesus to salvation history as continuation and culmination. *Theomorphic typology* reveals a divine Jesus who acts in the narrative role of God. *Exemplary typology* portrays Jesus as the prototype that the Church will imitate in its own Gentile mission.

## §7.2 Typology and Christology in the Wider Context of Mark's Gospel

In this section I survey the three Christological high points which structure Mark's Gospel: the baptism, transfiguration and passion. In addition to their clear role in Mark's structure,[9] these three include supernatural phenomena in the sky (not caused by Jesus) and proclamations of Jesus as Son of God. They are also united by a typology derived from the *Akedah*, which will be explored below. The passion will be considered in three parts, extrapolating the typological themes of Jesus as Jerusalem's judge, Jesus as Son of God, and

[7] Cf. section on 'Early Christian Gentile Mission', in Schnabel, 'Jesus and the Beginnings of the Mission to the Gentiles', 41–43.

[8] See §§6.9; 6.10.4.

[9] Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 46.

Jesus as typological fulfilment of David. This aims to show that the Christological typology argued for in the miracle accounts above, is consistent with the Gospel's wider presentation of Jesus.

### *§7.2.1 The Son of God Appears: Typology and Christology in Mark 1:1-15*

Mark's identification of Jesus with Israel's God is apparent from the beginning of the Gospel. The textual status of υἱοῦ θεοῦ in Mark 1:1 is disputed,[10] yet little changes if it is not authentic.[11] Gudrun Guttenberger argues that Jesus' designation as υἱοῦ θεοῦ in 1:1 means that to talk about God in the Gospel of Mark is to talk about him in his relationship with Jesus.[12] However, even if we delete that phrase from 1:1, the Gospel still contains narrative acclamations of Jesus as "my beloved son" by a heavenly voice (ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, 1:11; 9:7), and "son of God" by evil spirits (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, 3:11; Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, 5:7) and a centurion (ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν, 15:39). Jesus identifies himself as God's son (υἱός, 12:6; 13:32; 14:61-62).[13] Whether Mark 1:1 is original or not, Mark leaves no doubt that Jesus is the Son of God.

The Gospel is titled by 1:1 as τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The next time the εὐαγγέλιον is mentioned it is called τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ (Mark 1:14). There are not two gospels.[14] This implies a high level of identification between Jesus and God.

The voice of God is first heard implicitly, in the quotation of scripture in Mark 1:2-3.[15] Special significance is attached to this citation, both in its location at the beginning of the

[10] The manuscript evidence for the inclusion of υἱοῦ θεοῦ (B D W al) and that against it (א* Θ 28c al) is not decisive either way (see Bruce M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* [London: United Bible Societies, 1971], 73; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 33, 39).

[11] '[I]ts actual usage here has no light to shed on its meaning.' Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 167.

[12] Guttenberger, *Die Gottesvorstellung im Markusevangelium*, 56.

[13] Van Iersel, *Mark*, 91.

[14] Van Iersel, *Mark*, 105.

Gospel and because all other scripture citations in Mark appear in the mouths of human characters. Here, God is speaking in a direct way unmediated by a human character.[16] The subject, "I", of Mark 1:2 and its citation of Mal 3:1 can only be God and the object, "you", must be Christ.[17] This direct address portrays an "extraordinary intimacy" between God and Jesus.[18] Thus the way that is to be prepared is Jesus' way. Mark 1:3, citing Isa 40:3 (LXX), calls this way "the way of the Lord (κύριος)." In its original context in Isaiah "the way of the Lord" is clearly God's way. Transplanted into Mark and juxtaposed with Mal 3:1, the way of the Lord is also Jesus' way,[19] opening up the additional possibility that Jesus is the κύριος whose way it is.[20] Marcus suggests that this same semantic modification of κύριος occurs in Rom 10:13 and Acts 2:21, which quote Joel 2:32 (3:5 LXX), and in the new context κύριος refers to Jesus Christ instead of the God of Israel.[21]

One way of understanding Mark's juxtaposition of scriptures here, resulting in a new definition of κύριος, is that, while Mark (presumably) recognises that the original referent of κύριος in Isa 40:3 was God, because Jesus is typologically theomorphic this scripture can also be applied to him.

Only twice in the Gospel's narrative does God feature as an overt character. However, God is not named but features as a voice from the sky (Mark 1:11; 9:7). The heavenly voice is God's as both times it speaks it identifies Jesus as υἱός μου.[22] In all 42 of the occurrences of θεός in

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[15] Boring, 'Markan Christology', 464. In addition to Mal 3:1 and Isa 40:3, Owen ('Jesus as God's Chief Agent in Mark's Christology', 42) argues for Exod 23:20. However, Watts (*Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark*, 62) outlines several weakness of this view.

[16] Guttenberger, *Die Gottesvorstellung im Markusevangelium*, 56; 'By passing beyond the time limits of the story the book shows that the story about Jesus–although important in itself–is part of a greater whole.' Van Iersel, *Mark*, 93; 'The composite citation . . . sets the stage for John's and Jesus' appearance against the background of redemptive history.' So Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 12.

[17] Van Iersel, *Mark*, 94; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 11.

[18] Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 147.

[19] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 11; Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten', 92.

[20] Kampling, *Israel unter dem Anspruch des Messias*, 38–39; Guttenberger, *Die Gottesvorstellung im Markusevangelium*, 66; Van Iersel, *Mark*, 95; Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 25.

[21] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 77.

[22] See further, Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 33–34.

Mark it is never as an actor in the narrative but usually modifies other nouns, e.g. "son of God" (3:11), "kingdom of God" (9:1), and "the commandment of God" (7:8). The heavenly voice's designation of Jesus as ὁ υἱός μου adds an element of distinction and definiteness to the identification of Jesus with God. Jesus is not God, but his son. Jesus is not a son, but the son.

This definiteness of Jesus's sonship is further established typologically by the evocation of Gen 22:2, τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, in Mark 1:11. The phrase ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός. Ἀγαπητός occurs three times in Gen 22:2, 12 and 16, and not in any other suggested referent text of Mark 1:11.[23] The threefold repetition in Genesis 22 may be reflected in Mark's strategic placement of this phrase at three points of the Gospel (Mark 1:11; 9:7; 12:6).[24] Ἀγαπητός is a well attested early Jewish idiom for an only child (LXX Jer 6:26; Zech 12:10; Tob 3:10) and for children in general (1 Enoch 10:12; 12:6; 14:6; 99:5).[25] It is particularly associated with Isaac in Philo (*Somn.* 1.194-95; *Leg. all.* 3.203; *Deus* 1.4; *Abr.* 168, 196; *Migr.* 140). It is likely that the word had the same significance for Mark and his readers.[26] A voice from heaven also features in the story of the *Akedah* (Gen 22:11) and repeats the key phrase, τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ (Gen 22:12). The words πειράζω (Gen 22:1; Mark 1:13; cf. Heb 11:17) and σχίζω (Gen 22:3: Mark 1:10) may also help reinforce a link.[27] Thus Jesus is one like Isaac, a uniquely beloved only son.[28] But significantly God, not Abraham, is his father.[29]

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[23] Matthew S. Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God: Lament and Divine Abandonment in Mark', *JBL* 131 (2012): 763; Schnackenburg, *Jesus in the Gospels*, 46–47; Stegner, *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity*, 17.

[24] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 766.

[25] See further, Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 169–70; Van Iersel, *Mark*, 101; Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 34; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 47–48.

[26] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 764.

[27] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 763; W. Richard Stegner, 'The Baptism of Jesus: A Story Modelled on the Binding of Isaac', *Bible Review* 1 (1985): 43, also offers the much more generic, and thus weaker, parallels of 'and it happened' (καὶ ἐγένετο, Gen 22:1; Mark 1:9) and 'he saw' (εἶδεν, Gen 22:4; Mark 1:10).

[28] Kampling, *Israel unter dem Anspruch des Messias*, 64. Pesch (*Das Markusevangelium*, 1.92-93) concludes that since an Adam typology is at work in this passage it excludes both Israel and Isaac typologies. This is to make the assumption that an author is only capable or wiling to allude to one

If a river baptism seems far removed from a hilltop holocaust it should be remembered that for early Christ-believers baptism signified death. In Mark 10:38 Jesus uses baptism, βάπτισμα, as a metaphor for his coming passion. In Rom 6:4 Paul talks about baptism as a burial into death, συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον. Additionally, Best has argued that in both Judaism and early Christianity the sparing of Isaac was seen as a type of resurrection (Heb 11:17-19; *Pirqe R. El.* 31.10).[30] Christian baptism was also associated with resurrection (Rom 6:4; 1 Pet 3:21). Resurrection requires a prior death. Accordingly, for Mark and his Christian readers, Jesus' baptism prefigures his sacrificial death and resurrection and so may well also call to mind the Akedah.[31]

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type at a time. This is especially erroneous when many biblical types are themselves typologically connected, e.g. Adam and Israel, or Moses and Joshua, so it does not need to be one or the other, but, as I will argue, several types can be compounded. However, Pesch seems to recognise this himself, commenting later that in his temptation Jesus is the 'Antityp aller Versuchten, Gerechten und in der Erprobung Bewährten/ the antitype of all who have been tempted, the righteous and those proven through testing' (p. 1.95).

[29] Another 'highly probable' allusion to the Akedah is found in Rom 8:32, ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, which echoes another repeated phrase, οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι᾽ ἐμέ (Gen. 22:12 & 16). See Richard Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2016), 753; For Hengel (*The Son of God*, 11) this usage implies that Paul connects Jesus' sonship with the binding of Isaac; However, Dunn (*Romans* [Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1988], 1.501) has argued that Paul 'excluded or ignored any reference to the offering of Isaac in chap. 4, where his Jewish interlocuter would have expected it; and instead he has introduced his allusion at the climax of his argument, and referred it to God. In what must be accounted a very neat turning of the tables, Paul indicates that Abraham's offering of his son serves as a type not of the faithfulness of the devout Jew, but rather of the faithfulness of God.' The Akedah is also referred to explicitly in the NT in Jas 2:21-23; Heb 6:13-14; 11:17-19, but in those passages the focus is on Abraham as an example of faith in action rather than Isaac.

[30] Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 170.

[31] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 763–64; Stegner, 'The Baptism of Jesus: A Story Modelled on the Binding of Isaac', 46. Following Huizenga (*The New Isaac*, 76–77) I use the term 'Akedah' as 'a convenient collective term designating any and all presentations of the fundamental story of Gen 22, including Gen 22, even those versions in which Isaac is not explicitly bound. Given the great variety found among the various presentations, it is better to think in terms of Wittgensteinian "family resemblances" than in terms of strict definitions and indispensable essences.'

The *Testament of Levi* contains an important tradition about the eschatological "new priest" (ἱερέα καινόν, *T. Levi* 18:2) that God will raise up.

> οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἀνοιγήσονται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς δόξης ἥξει ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἁγίασμα μετὰ φωνῆς πατρικῆς ὡς ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ πατρὸς Ἰσαάκ. καὶ δόξα ὑψίστου ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ῥηθήσεται, καὶ πνεῦμα συνέσεως καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ καταπαύσει ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. (*T. Levi* 18:6-7)
>
> The heavens will open and from the Temple of glory holiness[32] will come upon him with the father's voice, as (that) from Abraham father of Isaak. And the highest glory will be spoken upon him, and the spirit of understanding and sanctification will rest upon him in the water. (Author's trans.)

Both Charles and Kee consider ἐν τῷ ὕδατι to be a Christian interpolation.[33] However, even with that phrase removed the correspondence between Mark 1:10-11 and *T. Levi* 18:6-7 is striking, and explicitly links the heavenly voice and resting spirit with Abraham and Isaac. As Best notes, if it is a Jewish tradition "it shows that the Isaac imagery was already attached to the figure of the new priest whom God would raise up and whom Christians would naturally identify with Christ".[34] But if it was written by Christians then "we see that Christ was seen as the new Isaac at an early period."[35] Evidence of such an early Christian interpretation is also given by Barn 7:3 (late first century to early second century), "because he himself [i.e. Jesus] was about to offer the vessel of the Spirit as a sacrifice for our own sins, that the type might also be fulfilled that was set forth in Isaac (ἵνα καὶ ὁ τύπος ὁ γενόμενος ἐπὶ Ἰσαὰκ), when he was offered on the altar."[36]

Vermès has shown that in Rabbinic teaching Isaac's willing sacrifice was considered to have provided atonement for all his descendants: "The merits of his sacrifice were experienced by the Chosen People in the past, invoked in the present, and hoped for at the end of time" (e.g. Gen 22 in Frg. Tg; Tg Ps-J.; Tg. Neof.; *Gen. Rab*) [37] Despite the clear correspondences between Jewish traditions of Isaac and Christian belief in Jesus Christ, these later Jewish

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[32] For ἁγίασμα as holiness, see LSJ, 9; GE 13.

[33] *OTP* 1:795.

[34] cf. Acts 3:25-26, Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 170–71; cf. Acts 3:25-26.

[35] Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 170.

[36] Trans. Bart D. Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, LCL, 2.37. On the dating of the Epistle of Barnabas see Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature*, 272.

[37] Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 204–8.

traditions are of uncertain use in terms of background for the NT use of the Akedah, both because of the difficulty in dating them and also because there is no strong evidence they have influenced the NT.[38] It is even possible the influence goes in the other direction, as Alan Segal has argued: "The amoraic tradition of the death and ashes of Isaac and his subsequent resurrection can be reasonably understood as an attempt to enrich Judaism with a figure that was as colourful as the one known to Christian exegesis."[39]

However, as Leroy Huzienga argues, "Rabbinic and targumic texts have dominated the discussion to the detriment of the treatment of the Akedah in earlier documents of more certain date."[40] Developing traditions around Isaac are clearly visible in Jubilees, Pseudo-Jubilees (4Q225), 4 Maccabees (7:14, 19; 13:12, 17; 16:20-25), Philo, Pseudo-Philo (LAB 18:5; 32:2-4; 40:2) and Josephus (*Ant.* 1.222-236), even if they do not contain all the distinctive features of later Rabbinic teaching on the Akedah. Several points are immediately significant for the consideration of the presentation of Jesus in Mark 1:1-15.

In Gen 22:6, 8, the repeated phrase that Abraham and Isaac walked on together ( וילכו שניהם יחדו / LXX v6 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ δύο ἅμα; LXX v8 πορευθέντες δὲ ἀμφότεροι ἅμα) "likely suggested to later tradents that Isaac was indeed aware of the situation and willing to be sacrificed."[41] In Pseudo-Jubilees (4Q225 2.ii.4) Fitzmyer, reconstructs the text as, כ[פות אותי יפה, "Bind me fast."[42] This would be the earliest text which "reveals an aspect of Isaac's cooperation with his own sacrificial death that figures often in Jewish writings of a later date."[43] This picture of a willing and obedient Isaac then occurs more explicitly in LAB 32:3;

[38] Raymond Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, ABRL (New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1994), 2.1441-43; P. R. Davies and B. D. Chilton, 'The Aqedah: A Revised Tradition History', *CBQ* 40 (1978): 514–46; Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 753–54; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 531; Dunn, *Romans*, 1.501.

[39] Alan F. Segal, '"He Who Did Not Spare His Own Son . . .": Jesus, Paul and the Akedah', in *From Jesus to Paul: Studies in Honour of Francis Wright Beare*, ed. P Richardson and J. C. Hurd (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984), 183; cited in Longenecker, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 754.

[40] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 76.

[41] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 78.

[42] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'The Sacrifice of Isaac in Qumran Literature', *Biblica* 83 (2002): 218.

[43] Fitzmyer, 'The Sacrifice of Isaac in Qumran Literature', 219.

40:2; Philo, *Abraham* 172; 4 Macc 13:12; 16:20; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.232.[44] Isaac's willing submission to a sacrificial death by his father's and God's will in Jewish tradition corresponds with Jesus' willing submission to crucifixion by his father God's will as depicted in Mark (e.g. Mark 10:45; 14:36).

Huizenga suggests that the motif of seeing (ראה, Gen 22:4, 8, 13, 14), the angelic appearance (Gen 22:11, 15) and the voice of God (Gen 22:1-2) in the scriptural account of the Akedah are "nascent apocalyptic elements" that could be developed by later interpreters.[45] In 4Q225 2.ii.2-7 the recounting of the Akedah includes descriptions of forces of angels of holiness, who weep for Isaac's impending death, and angels of animosity (Mastema/ משטמה), who rejoice at it.[46] In LAB 18:5, Gen 22:17 is retold as a heavenly ascent by Abraham "when I [i.e. God] lifted him above the firmament and showed him the arrangement of all the stars."[47] In LAB 31:1-2 the stars of heaven fight alongside Deborah against Sisera.[48] Deborah's following hymn then contains an account of angelic jealousy towards Abraham (LAB 32:1-2) which is what inspires God's command to kill Isaac. In Jubilees it is Mastema that tells God to test Abraham with the offering of Isaac as a burnt offering (Jub 17:16).

The apocalyptic elements in Mark's prologue, such as the torn heavens and descent of the spirit (Mark 1:10) and the voice from heaven (Mark 1:11) correspond with this escalating cosmic dimension in the retellings of the Akedah story. Most significant is the correspondence of angelic activity, especially in Mark 1:13 where Satan tests Jesus and angels wait on him. The picture of Jesus between opposing spiritual forces corresponds to 4Q225. The idea of Jesus being tested (πειράζω) by Satan corresponds strongly to Jub 17:16. Additionally, in Judith we find, in what is most likely a reference to the Akedah,[49] a description of Isaac as someone who was tested (ὅσα ἐπείρασεν τὸν Ισαακ, Jud 8:26).

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[44] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 102–28; Bruce N. Fisk, 'Offering Isaac Again and Again: Pseudo-Philo's Use of the Aqedah as Intertext', *CBQ* 62 (2000): 494, 497.

[45] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 79.

[46] Fitzmyer, 'The Sacrifice of Isaac in Qumran Literature', 219.

[47] OTP 2.325

[48] Vital to this expansion of Pseudo-Philo's is the ancient understanding of stars as heavenly beings, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

[49] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 94.

Strikingly, in several places Philo exalts Isaac above the other patriarchs as the son of God.[50] In *Names* 131 Isaac is the innate son of God (ὁ ἐνδιάθετος υἱὸς θεοῦ). In *Worse* 124, "God may with perfect truth be said to be Isaac's father." In *Dream*s 1.173, God is merely Abraham's teacher but he begets Isaac (Ἰσαὰκ δὲ γεννήσας), Abraham is God's pupil but Isaac is God's son (υἱός). And in *Alleg. Interp.* 3.219, the Lord has begotten Isaac (Ἰσαὰκ ἐγέννησεν ὁ κύριος). This distinctively exalted portrayal of Isaac (whether literal or figurative) is especially intriguing because both Philo's *On Isaac* and the Akedah section of *Questions and Answers on Genesis* are lost to history, possibly as a result of Christian censorship.[51] While Philo's idiosyncratic interpretations cannot be considered to have influenced Mark, they do demonstrate the range of development that the figure of Isaac had undergone by the end of the first century.

Mark's depiction of Jesus being declared God's beloved son and being tested, among apocalyptic signs and between angelic forces of good and evil, could well evoke the Akedah to any Jew familiar with the developing tradition attested by the texts discussed above. Although it must be borne in mind that early Christians certainly might refer to the Akedah without any suggestion of developments beyond the scriptural story (e.g. Jas 2:21-23; Heb 6:13-14; 11:17-19), the argument for an allusion to the Akedah in Mark 1:11 does not depend on any of these developing traditions, but is only strengthened by the probability that they were available to the author of Mark.

Thus the opening verses of Mark set up the Christological terms which constitute the puzzle of Mark's Christology. Jesus' relationship to the God of Israel is defined along two axes. He is placed on these axes by means of scriptural typology in Mark's narrative. One, he is the singular son of Israel's θεός, the antitype of Isaac. This is fulfilment typology. Two, he is somehow identified with Israel's κύριος, in that the role assigned to "the Lord" in scripture is to be accomplished by Jesus. When the Lord, κύριος, promised to return to Zion, he meant that Jesus, κύριος, would do it.[52] Jesus' unique eschatological representation of God "prepares the way" for the theomorphic typology evident later in the Gospel.

[50] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 101–2.

[51] Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 97–98.

[52] Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 46.

### *§7.2.2 The Mountain Transfiguration: Typology and Christology in Mark 9:2-8*

The transfiguration is identified as a Christological high point of the Gospel by its structural function, the heavenly phenomena and declaration of Jesus as a "son".[53]

The second half of Mark's Gospel (8:31-16:8) begins by revisiting the beginning (Mark 1:1-15).[54] There are a number of parallels. Jesus makes a new beginning, ἄρχω (8:31; cf. 1:1, ἀρχή).[55] Instead of scripture speaking (1:2-3), Jesus teaches (8:31-9:1). The prophet Malachi quoted in Mark 1:2 (Mal 3:1) is recalled here through the appearance of both Moses and Elijah (Mal 4:4-5, "Remember the teaching of my servant Moses . . . I will send you the prophet Elijah . . .").[56] Satan does not test Jesus in the wilderness but in the person of his disciple, Peter (8:32-33). Like his original preaching of the gospel, Jesus teaches openly (8:32; cf. 1:14). There is a reiteration of the promised coming of the kingdom (9:1; cf. 1:15). Mark 8:34 is also 'reminiscent of the first three call stories (1.16-20 and 2.14), which brought home to the reader that anyone who wishes to follow Jesus should be prepared to give up the security of family and livelihood.'[57] At another symbolically significant location (this time a high mountain rather than the Jordan)[58] a heavenly voice declares Jesus to be ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mk. 9:7; cf. 1:10). The section ends with a reference to John's arrest (9:13; cf. 1:14).

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[53] 'Literarily speaking, Mark makes the transfiguration a kind of fulcrum for his book.' M. David Litwa, *IESUS DEUS: The Early Christian Depiction of Jesus as a Mediterranean God* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2014), 113.

[54] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 640–41.

[55] Stein, *Mark*, 401; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 327, 333; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 205.

[56] Boring, *Mark*, 261.

[57] Van Iersel, *Mark*, 288.

[58] 'The height of the mountain implies contact with heaven.' So Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, WBC 34b (Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 35; see also Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 457; Dorothy Lee, *Transfiguration*, New Century Theology (London: Continuum, 2004), 14–15.

The ascent of a mountain to meet with God recalls two significant scriptural stories, that of Moses (Exod 24, 34) and that of Elijah (1 Kgs 19:8-18). Omerzu writes,

> Während der Gesamtzusammenhang der Verklärungserzählung stärker durch die Mosetradition (vgl. bes. Ex 24; 34; 40) als durch elianische Züge gespeist ist [. . .] , ist es doch wichtig, dass Elia hier zum ersten Mal als Figur innerhalb der Jesusgeschichte erscheint, und zwar gemeinsam mit Mose und Jesus. In dieser Erzählung überlappen sich die Elia- und die Jesusgeschichte, so dass es sich um ein Beispiel interner Analogie handelt.[59]

Unlike Mark's more subtle typologies this connection by analogy can hardly be denied as Elijah and Moses are described as being present (Mark 9:4). Various Jewish writings suggest that the return of scriptural heroes would feature in the eschaton (4 Ezra 6:26; 14:9; 2 Bar 76:2; *T. Ben* 10:5-6).[60] The appearance of Elijah and Moses must carry great significance, however their presence is not a return but only a temporary reappearance.[61]

Elijah is the first of the two prophets mentioned. With the mountaintop scene surrounded by the talk of persecution of both Jesus and his followers (Mark 8:31-38) and mention of Elijah/John the Baptist's fate (9:13), the transfiguration recalls Elijah's encounter at Mount Horeb (1 Kgs 19:11-18). Elijah was under the threat of death (1 Kgs 19:2) as is Jesus (e.g. Mark 3:6; 8:31). Both scenes take place after the death of prophets at the hands of a wicked king and queen (1 Kgs 18:4; Mark 6:14-29). Peter's presumptuous verbosity (Mark 9:5-6) contrasts with Elijah's silence (1 Kgs 19:12-13). God's voice interrogated Elijah (1 Kgs 19:13) before comforting him (19:15-18). In the transfiguration, God's voice only declares that Jesus is his son and that the disciples should listen to him (Mark 9:7). That no interrogation or comfort is needed suggests the sufficiency of the father-son relationship between them. Jesus is closer to God than Elijah.

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[59] 'While the overall context of the Transfiguration narrative is more strongly influenced by the Moses tradition (see especially Exod 24; 34; 40) than by features of the Elijah tradition [. . .], it is important that for the first time Elijah appears here as a figure within the story of Jesus, and, indeed, together with Moses and Jesus. In this narrative, the stories of Elijah and Jesus overlap, so that it is an example of internal analogy.' Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten', 86.

[60] Arthur Michael Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), 109.

[61] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 2.75.

Jesus' transfiguration (μεταμορφόω, Mark 9:2) also evokes Moses' glorification (δοξάζω, Exod 34:29 LXX).[62] Moses' two ascents to meet with God in Exod 24:9-18 and 34:1-35 present a number of corresponding details: the otherwise puzzling Markan reference to six days (Mark 9:2; Exod 24:15-17);[63] the high mountain (Exod 24:12; 15-18; 34:3); the presence of a select group (Exod 24:1-2, 13); a transformed and radiant central character (Exod 34:29-30, 35); a fearful reaction (Exod 34:29-30); an overshadowing cloud (Exod 24:15-16; 34:5); a voice from that cloud (Exod 24:16; 34:5); a human radiating light (Exod 34:29, 35).[64] As Donnahue and Harrington write, "The common features are so numerous that it is hard to escape the impression that the transfiguration story presents Jesus as not only the Son of God but also a Moses figure."[65]

However, two further features complicate the picture. The command ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ (Mark 9:7), "listen to him", may call to mind the prophet like Moses in Deut 18:18-19, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ ὅσα ἐὰν λαλήσῃ.[66] However, the wording is much closer to that of Exod 23:21, εἰσάκουε αὐτοῦ. These words are spoken by God regarding an angel who has a unique status, γὰρ ὄνομά μού ἐστιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ (Exod. 23:21). Although it is possible this is evidence of an angel-Christology there is little else in Mark to support this.[67] The narrative shape of 9:2-7 suggests a different conclusion.

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[62] Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 47.

[63] Boring, *Mark*, 261; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 268; Lee, *Transfiguration*, 13; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 35; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 2.72.

[64] Marcus, Mark 8-16, 1114–15; Van Iersel, Mark, 294; Litwa, IESUS DEUS, 123; Gnilka, Das Evangelium nach Markus, 2.2; Allison, The New Moses, 243–48; Stegner, Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity, 87–91.

[65] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 274.

[66] Boring, Mark, 262; Marcus, Mark 8-16, 634; Hooker, The Gospel According to Saint Mark, 218; Pesch, Das Markusevangelium, 2.76; Stegner, Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity, 93.

[67] On angel Christology see, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, '"Angels" and "God": Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism', in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy North, JSNTSup 263 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 45–70; Stuckenbruck, Loren T., *Angel Veneration and Christology*, WUNT 2. 70 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Bart D. Ehrman, *How Jesus Became God: The Exaltation of a Jewish Preacher from Galilee* (Harper Collins, 2014), 250–51, 278; Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, AGJU, XLII (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

Crucially, in both Exodus 24 and 34 Moses ascends the mountain to talk with God. This is also the case in the parallel Elijah story (1 Kgs 19:8). In Exod 34:29 Moses' face is changed when he talks *with* God (ἐν τῷ λαλεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτῷ). Jesus, though, is not changed by talking with God. Neither, in Mark's account, does his *face* shine.[68] He is changed before the cloud appears or the heavenly voice speaks.[69]

Mark's report that Jesus' clothes are changed (9:3) perhaps "reflects that of the clothes and hair of the aged figure who sits on the heavenly throne in the vision of Dan. 7.9 . . . For a moment, the three disciples see the Son of Man clothed with God's glory."[70] Comparable is the description of God's cloak (περιβόλαιον) in 1 Enoch 14:20 as brighter and whiter than any snow (λαμπρότερον καὶ λευκότερον πάσης χιόνος).[71] Alternatively, the shining clothes reflect Jewish and Greek descriptions of heavenly beings, reinforced by Mark's statement that no one *on earth* could achieve such whiteness.[72] Notably, when humans become heavenly beings and put on robes of glory in early Jewish literature, these robes are always given to them.

> And the Lord said to Michael, "Go, and extract Enoch from his earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into clothes of my glory.' And so Michael did just as the Lord had said to him. He anointed me and he clothed me. (2 Enoch 22:8 J)[73]
>
> Out of the love which he had for me, more than all the denizens of the heights, the Holy One, blessed be he, fashioned for me a majestic robe, in which all kinds of luminaries were set, and he clothed me in it. He fashioned for me a glorious cloak in which brightness, brilliance, splendour and lustre of every kind were fixed, and he wrapped me in it. (3 Enoch 12:1-2)[74]

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[68] Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 36. It is likely that Matt 17:2 and Luke 9:29 also give Jesus a radiant face to assimilate further the transfiguration to Exod 34:29. So Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 631.

[69] Thus Litwa (*IESUS DEUS*, 139) is wrong to argue that Jesus' light is reflected from YHWH's light. There is no suggestion in the Markan text that the cloud emits light.

[70] Van Iersel, *Mark*, 294; also Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 36.

[71] Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 367.

[72] Litwa, *IESUS DEUS*, 134; Lee, *Transfiguration*, 16; Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 48–49; following Richard Bauckham, 'The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus', in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, ed. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, and G. S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 51; see also Ezek 9:2 and Rev 15:6 discussed in Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology*, 226–28.

[73] OTP, 1.138.

[74] OTP, 1.265.

Although some have argued that μετεμορφώθη is a divine passive in Mark 9:2,[75] by comparison with other texts of heavenly enrobing, the lack of any description of dressing or giving of the robe in Mark 9:2 is conspicuous. The Markan text is silent as to the agent of Jesus' transformation,[76] so the implication may be that there is no agent or that it is Jesus who transforms himself.

Once he is changed then Moses and Elijah appear up the mountain and they then talk *with* Jesus, ἦσαν συλλαλοῦντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ (Mark 9:4). "Obwohl ihre Stories bereits zuvor evoziert und im Prolog auch verwoben wurden, werden sie erst hier explizit zusammen genannt (Mk 9,4f) und so zu Figuren der Jesusgeschichte."[77] In the transfiguration Jesus takes on the role of the angel of the Lord and of God, in being the one that Moses and Elijah went up the mountain to talk to. By metamorphosing into radiance he is not imitating Moses whose face reflected the glory of God (δεδόξασται ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (Exod 34:29). He is imitating the one who made Moses' face shine. Note how in the Exodus passages God appears as a man (Exod 24:10; 34:5).

MacDonald has argued that because Moses' clothes are not mentioned in the Exodus parallels Mark must be more dependent here on the transformation of Odysseus before Telemachus in *Od.* 16.178-85.[78] However, Gregory Palamas (13th-14th C.) connects LXX 103:2, ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον, with the transfiguration as evidence that Christ was himself God (*The Triads* 2.3.18).[79] Matthew and Luke's addition of changes to Jesus' face (Matt 17:2; Luke 9:29) renders Mark's focus on Jesus' clothes alone (τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ) distinctive. It is possible that Mark avoids describing Jesus' face as changed in order not to confuse Jesus with Moses, if his intended typological reference is not Moses but the angel of the Lord.

[75] Van Iersel, *Mark*, 294; Stein, *Mark*, 416.

[76] On the use of the passive without an expressed agent see Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 435–38.

[77] 'Although their stories were already previously evoked and interwoven in the prologue, it is only here that [Moses and Elijah] are explicitly mentioned together (Mark 9.4f) and thus become figures in Jesus' story.' Omerzu, 'Geschichte durch Geschichten', 89.

[78] MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, 94.

[79] Cited in Litwa, *IESUS DEUS*, 111.

It is as if the disciples are witnessing a salvation-historical "flashback" to the theophanies experienced by Moses and Elijah and seeing Jesus representing the God of Israel. Contrary to the view that the transfiguration anticipates the resurrection,[80] this reading suggests that it both anticipates the Son of Man's glory promised in Mark 8:38 and 9:1[81] and recapitulates the mountain ascents of Moses and Elijah to meet the Lord. If Moses and Elijah meet and talk with Jesus on the mountain, then Jesus is again assimilated to God by Mark's narrative. At the same time, the heavenly voice prevents a complete identification of Jesus with God. Jesus is both God's shining representative and the object of God's speech from heaven.

Two possible scriptural echoes should be considered. First Rev 11:3-4 (and possibly 2 Peter 1:16-18) may attest to an exegetical tradition that the two "sons of oil" in Zech 4:14 represent Moses and Elijah.[82] Significantly, these two "sons of oil" are described in Zech 4:14 as those "who stand by the Lord of the whole earth." If such a tradition is behind the dual appearance of Elijah and Moses in the transfiguration account, then this further supports the identification of Jesus with the God of Israel, rather than with the prophets who talk with him.

Secondly, Peter's remark about building tents (σκηνή, Mark 9:5) for Jesus, Moses and Elijah, may reflect the hope expressed in Tob 13:10: "Acknowledge the Lord, for he is good, and bless the King of the ages, so that his tent may be rebuilt (ἡ σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομηθῇ) in you in joy".[83] This hope finds full expression in Rev 21:3, "And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, "See, the home (σκηνή) of God is among mortals. He will dwell (σκηνόω) with them; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them."

In the transfiguration Jesus is not the antitype of Elijah or Moses, because they are in the scene with him. Instead he is typologically patterned upon God. Again the two axes of Jesus' relationship to God are in evidence: the differentiation from God, as the heavenly voice again declares him to be "my son", and the identification with God of the scriptures, as Jesus takes on the role of the Lord from scriptural narratives. At the same time, connections to the

[80] E.g. Schnackenburg, *Jesus in the Gospels*, 30; Litwa, *IESUS DEUS*, 113 n3; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 2.73.

[81] Stein, *Mark*, 417; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 35–36; Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, 117–18.

[82] Evans, 'Zechariah in the Markan Passion Narrative', 66–69.

[83] Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, 111.

*Akedah* and the looming spectre of death keep this episode anchored in the journey to the cross.

In fact the allusion to the *Akedah* is stronger here than in Mark 1:1-15. Again the language of "beloved son" (Mark 9:7) recalls the *Akedah* which also takes place on a mountain (ὄρος, Gen 22:2, 14; Mark 9:2).[84] Both scenes are connected with the promise of a coming glorious kingdom (Gen 22:17-18; Mark 8:38-9:1). Ringe notes several words-in-common occurring at corresponding narrative points: ὑψηλός (Gen 22:2; Mark 9:2);[85] παραλαμβάνω (Gen 22:3; Mark 9:2); ἀναφέρω (Gen 22:2; Mark 9:2); φωνή (Gen 22:18; Mark 9:7); ὤφθη (from ὁράω, Gen 22:14; Mark 9:4); and ὑπακούω/ἀκούω (Gen 22:18; Mark 9:7).[86] These additional verbal connections are not particularly strong, but with the important narrative correspondences are suggestive of how the *Akedah* tradition may have influenced the transfiguration pericope.

Mark 9:2-8 is thus a scene rich in a multi-layered scriptural typology. At this second Christological high-point of the Gospel Jesus appears both as a theomorphic type of Israel's God and as the antitype of Isaac. Again the two axes of God's son and one like God are contained in the same narrative episode.

### *§7.2.3 Judgement on the Temple: Typology and Christology in Mark 11-12*

The climax of Mark's Gospel is the passion account. Immediately after Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Mark 11:1-11), Jesus performs two parabolic actions of judgement upon the religious institutions of Jerusalem (11:12-25).[87] These symbolic actions are intercalated in

[84] Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 48.

[85] For Pesch (*Das Markusevangelium*, 2.71) ὄρος ὑψηλόν is a 'Stichwort' which evokes an Isaac typology.

[86] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 766–67.

[87] C. K. Barrett, 'The House of Prayer and the Den of Thieves', in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kummel zum 70. Gebrustag*, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Gräßer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 14; James H. Charlesworth, 'Jesus and the Temple', in *Jesus and the Temple: Textual and Archaeological Explorations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2014), 157.

Mark's characteristic sandwich structure.[88] The miracle of the withered fig tree (11:12-14, 20-25) is intercalated with Jesus' cleansing of the Temple (11:15-19).

This is the last Markan account of Jesus performing a miracle and the only account of Jesus performing a negative miracle in the Gospel.[89] This episode is also anomalous among the Markan miracle episodes in that it is both intra-textually unique (all other miracles have identifiable complements within the Gospel, e.g. two water miracles or two feeding miracles), and geographically unique (the only Markan miracle to take place in Jerusalem). For these reasons this miracle presents itself as significant in Mark's narrative presentation of Jesus.

Deborah Krause argues that Mark 11:12-25 owes its intercalated structure to Hosea 9:10-17.[90] For Krause the use of the fig tree as a metaphor for Israel (Hos 9:10) and the mention of Ephraim's root being dried up and never bearing fruit (Hos 9:16) relate to the fig tree cursed by Jesus (Mark 11:12-14, 20-25).[91] Between those references lies the promise "I will drive them out of my house" (Hos 9:15) which Krause relates to Jesus' driving out of the buyers and the sellers from the Temple (Mark 11:15-18).[92] Krause argues that the phrase οἶκός μου serves to link Jesus' teaching in Mark 11:17 (LXX Isa 56:7; Jer 7:11, οἶκός μου) with Hos. 9.15 (LXX, ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐκβαλῶ αὐτούς).[93] Mark's awkward reference to "season" in 11:13 is explained by Krause as the influence of the reference to the season in Hos 9:10.[94] Both passages also share a reference to the nations in their immediate context (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, Hos 10:17; Mark 11:17) and a reference to "fruit" (καρπός, Hos 9:16; Mark 11:14).

Although it is not the focus of her study, Krause also suggests ways that this scriptural background serves to assimilate Jesus to the God of Israel. Firstly, the agent who finds and

[88] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 788; Edwards, 'Markan Sandwiches'.

[89] There may be some validity in the minority view that the cleansing of the Temple is also a miraculous event. See Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, §II.VIII.88, 401-2. Also Mayr ('Epiphanen und Heilungen', 133) intriguingly notes the commonalities between the cleansing of the Temple and the exorcisms.

[90] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21'. See also my argument in §5.7.9 that Mark 5:21-43 owed its intercalated structure to a typological use of 2 Kgs 4:18-37.

[91] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21', 242–44.

[92] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21', 239.

[93] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21', 243, 246.

[94] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21', 244, cf. 242.

sees (εὑρίσκω, ὁράω) the grapes/figs/Israel in Hos 9:10 is the Lord. In Mark 11:13 it is Jesus who sees and finds (ὁράω, εὑρίσκω) the fruitless fig tree.[95] She also recognises the typological relationships established by the scriptural subtext: "Mark's exegesis places Jesus' actions in continuity with the judgement of YHWH, and the Temple cult and its leaders in continuity with apostatising eighth-century Israel."[96]

Arguably the language of "continuity" is too weak to describe what Mark portrays which is, once again, Jesus acting the narrative role of God described in the scriptures. In this instance, while Hos 9:10-16 may well have provided a structural influence that generated Mark's intercalation, it is just one example of a prophetic theme that unites the destruction of Israel and the Temple with the picture of YHWH looking for figs.[97] In Hos 2:12 YHWH promises to "lay waste her [unfaithful Israel's] vine and her fig trees." In Joel 1:7 the day of YHWH's judgement on Israel results in the waste of vines and the splintering of the fig trees and in 1:12 "the vine withers and the fig tree droops." In Hag 2:19 YHWH reveals that "the vine, the fig tree, the pomegranate, and the olive tree still yield nothing" because God had withheld his blessing. In Isa 34:4 the withering of leaves on the vine and fruit on a fig tree is a metaphor for YHWH's destruction of the armies of the nations and heaven. Micah 7:1 is ambiguous as to whether the speaker is YHWH or Micah, but also associates the image of someone looking for but not finding the "first-ripe fig (בכורה / πρωτόγονος; cf. Hos 9:10) for which I hunger" with God's judgement on the "house of the wicked" (6:10) and with those who "lie in wait for blood" (7:2).[98]

Most significantly Jer 8:13 describes YHWH wanting to gather grapes and figs and finding none, as well as the motif of withered leaves (φύλλον, cf. Mark 11:13). This text is also in close proximity to the den of robbers citation (Jer 7:11) found in Mark 11:17, which is at the centre of the Markan intercalation. Mark's passion resonates with a number of themes from this section of Jeremiah: the rebuke of Israel for not knowing the season (καιρός x2, Jer 8:7);

[95] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21', 242.

[96] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21', 244.

[97] For an overview of the theme of 'charismatic teacher addressing a tree' and the symbolic use of figs and other trees, see Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 789.

[98] For an exploration of the positive use of the fig tree image in the Jewish scriptures see George W. Buchanan, 'Withering Fig Trees and Progression in Midrash', in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 249–89.

ignorance of the judgement of the Lord (οὐκ ἔγνω τὰ κρίματα κυρίου, Jer 8:7); false scribes (Jer 8:8); rejection of the word of the Lord (Jer 8:9); greed for unjust gain (Jer 8:10); and a promise to overthrow (Jer 8:12). Importantly, Jeremiah's prophecy is set in the gate of "the Lord's house", "the Temple of the Lord", and addressed to "you that enter these gates to worship the Lord" (Jer 7:1-4). As Juel concludes, "In this case, the setting of the verse in Jeremiah cannot be accidental. . . [It] fits perfectly into the context of the last chapters of [Mark's] Gospel."[99]

It seems likely that Mark's conjunction of prophetic texts especially those from Hosea and Jeremiah continues the typological pattern I have argued for in the miracle accounts. It portrays Jesus both in the mould of a scriptural human character, in this case Jeremiah prophesying to the worshippers in the Temple, and also taking on the role of the Lord from the same scripture. This time the typology is from a prophetic rather than a narrative scripture. It is not a single text which is evoked but a narrative motif of divine judgement which is present in Isaiah (34:4; 56:7), Jeremiah (Jer 7:11; 8:13), Hosea (2:12; 9:10-17), Joel (1:7), Haggai (2:19) and Micah (7:1).

Following the cleansing of the Temple and cursing of the fig tree, Jesus' authority is challenged by the chief priests, scribes and elders (11:27-29). After Jesus' initial evasive response (11:29-30) Jesus goes on to tell the parable of the wicked tenants in which he implicitly reveals that his authority to judge the Temple is from God (12:1-12). The parable, as a response to the question of Jesus' authority is Christological in focus. It develops scriptural themes to reveal Jesus' unique and unprecedented authority as God's Son.

In the parable of the wicked tenants (12:1-12) the son, Jesus, comes to the vineyard, Jerusalem, with a message of judgement from the Father, God, to the wicked tenants, the religious authorities. The parable is itself a message of judgement and the listening scribes, priests and elders realise this (12:12).[100] If they realise that they are the tenants they may also realise that Jesus is the "only son".[101]

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[99] Donald Juel, *Messiah and Temple: The Trial of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark*, SBLDS 31 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 133; also Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 174–76.

[100] Craig A. Evans, 'On the Vineyard Parables of Isaiah 5 and Mark 12', *BZ* 28 (1984): 83; Randall Buth and Brian Kvasnica, 'Temple Authorities and Tithe-Evasion: The Linguistic Background and Impact of the Parable of the Vineyard, Tenants and the Son', in *Jesus' Last Week: Jersualem Studies*

The parable begins in Mark 12:1 with language dependent upon LXX Isa 5:1-2.[102] In both texts, the main character plants (φυτεύω) a vineyard (ἀμπελών), places (περιτίθημι) a hedge, fence or wall (φραγμός), builds (οἰκοδομέω) a watchtower (πύργος), and digs (ὀρύσσω) a winepress (Isa 5:2, προλήνιον; Mark 12:1, ὑπολήνιον).[103] The coincidence of matching verbs and nouns is striking. An early reader of Mark observed and strengthened this connection: As Brooke notes, Luke adds a further detail from Isaiah, the landlord's question, "What shall I do?" (Luke 20:13) which echoes Isa 5:4.[104]

Some Jewish traditions associated these verses of Isaiah with the Temple (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Isa 5:2).[105] The fragmentary 4Q500 is highly suggestive that this interpretation predates the Gospel of Mark.[106] In Tg. Isa. 5:1-7 the watchtower of Isaiah 5 becomes the sanctuary and the vat becomes the altar (also *t. Sukkah* 3:15).[107] Evans argues that an early date for the

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*in the Synoptic Gospels—Volume One*, ed. R. Steven Notley, Marc Turnage, and Brian Becker, Jewish and Christian Perspectives 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 65.

[101] Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 249.

[102] Buth and Kvasnica, 'Temple Authorities and Tithe-Evasion', 77. At the same time, the parable describes a realistic vineyard and situation of Jesus' historical context. See Charlesworth, 'Jesus and the Temple', 167.

[103] It is hard to see why the LXX Isa has προλήνιον (the vat in front of a wine press). Generally the LXX renders the underlying Hebrew יקב simply with ληνός (trough or winepress, see Num 18:27, 30; Deut 15:14; 16:13; 2 Kgs 6:27; Prov 3:10; Jer 48:33; Hos 9:2; Joel 2:24; 4:13). However, Isa 16:10; Hag 2:16 and Zech 14:10 all use ὑπολήνιον (the vat placed beneath a winepress). Mark may have assimilated Isa 5:2 to 16:10 here, may have made a word choice based on the practice most familiar to his readers, or may have had a different version of Isa 5:2.

[104] George J. Brooke, '4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard', *DSD* 2 (1995): 283.

[105] '"The song of my beloved regarding his vineyard," (that is my people, my favourite, Israel.) "I gave them an inheritance on a high mountain in a rich land. And I sanctified them and honoured them and upheld them like a planting of choice vines. And I built my sanctuary among them, and my altar also I gave them for atonement for their sins."' Trans. Juel, *Messiah and Temple*, 136–37.

[106] Brooke, '4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard', 272; Charlesworth, 'Jesus and the Temple', 168–69; Buth and Kvasnica, 'Temple Authorities and Tithe-Evasion', 75.

[107] Chilton et al., *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark*, 364.

interpretation of the "tower" as a reference to the Temple is supported by the use of "tower" for the Temple in 1 Enoch 89:56, 66-67, 73.[108]

The Markan context of the parable "between chapters on the Temple cleansing (ch. 11) and the prediction of the Temple's destruction (ch. 13)" clearly alerts the reader to the probability of a Temple motif within the parable.[109] It is Jesus' authority *vis-à-vis* the Temple which is in question (Mark 11:27) and so the parable both justifies his actions in Mark 11 and anticipates his prophecy in Mark 13.

Klyne Snodgrass observes that this parable is "of direct and major christological significance."[110] The lord of the vineyard has one beloved son (ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν, Mark 12:6) who represents Jesus. Again the *Akedah* is evoked, this time by both the Septuagintal ἀγαπητός and the use of εἷς, a literal Greek equivalent of the Hebrew יחיד (Gen 22:2, 12, 16).[111]

The Psalm 118 citation confirms the theme of Temple within the parable. Psalm 118 describes the entry of a royal individual into the Temple gates to give thanks after a great deliverance (118:19-20). The verse regarding the cornerstone (118:22) comes between mentions of the Temple gates (118:19-20) and a festal procession to the altar (118:27). The cornerstone imagery, then, is inspired by and relates to the psalmist's location within the Temple and its surrounding masonry.[112] The setting of the parable in the Temple (Mark 11:27) and the disciple's reflection on the Temple architecture (13:1) also suggest the link between stone and Temple.[113]

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[108] Evans, 'On the Vineyard Parables of Isaiah 5 and Mark 12', 83–84.

[109] Evans, 'On the Vineyard Parables of Isaiah 5 and Mark 12', 84.

[110] Klyne R. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 276.

[111] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 803; cf. HALOT 406.

[112] Goldingay, *Psalms 90-150*, 361–62.

[113] 'The stupendous nature of such large stones need to be contextualized. The largest stones in the Temple Mount dwarf those used in the construction of Egypt's massive pyramids. No stone in the pyramids weighs over seventy tons. And no stone used by builders with massive equipment today weighs over one hundred tons. Yet the stone put in place by builders just before Jesus' birth weighs about 570 tons. Herod's Temple Mount in Jerusalem was the largest in the ancient world, being more than twice the size of Trajan's later Temple in Rome.' So, Charlesworth, 'Jesus and the Temple', 147.

At the same time, Ps 118:22 describes the psalmist's own experience of deliverance.[114] Jesus' appropriation of the psalm corresponds to his earlier predictions of rejection and vindication (8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34). The difference is that the rejection he predicted is now taking place.

There is also the strong possibility that behind the linking of the parable of the wicked tenants to the stone of Ps 118:22-23 (Mark 12:10-11) is the Hebrew wordplay between son, בן, and stone, אבן.[115]

This Hebrew word play appears to have influenced Aramaic speaking Jews. Josephus recounts how when Caesar was besieging Jerusalem the watchmen would cry in Aramaic, "the son comes!" to warn of the stones which the Roman catapults hurled (*J.W.* 5.272). Likewise, Tg. Ps. 118:22 reads "The architects forsook the youth among the sons of Jesse, but he was worthy to be appointed king and ruler."[116] The Aramaic טליא (child/youth) has replaced the Hebrew אבן, the most likely explanation for which is the Hebrew wordplay between בן and אבן being employed in the interpretation of the psalm.[117]

This Davidic/messianic interpretation of the "stone" in Tg. Ps. 118:22 might have been inspired by Zech 4:7 which associates Zerubbabel and a cornerstone with the rebuilding of the Temple. In Tg. Zech. 4:7 the stone becomes the messiah, revealed by Zerubbabel.[118] Josephus and Targum Psalms thus suggest that the Hebrew wordplay between בן and אבן was known and employed in at least two very different Aramaic contexts. Additionally, Tg. Ps. 118 shows the messianic potential of the cornerstone motif, if it is not itself the product of an earlier tradition linking Ps 118:22 with the messiah. Equally, other scriptural stone texts such

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[114] Hans-Joachin Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1993), 399–400; Mays, *Psalms*, 377.

[115] Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 290; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 277; Charlesworth, 'Jesus and the Temple', 170; Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives*, 337.

[116] Trans. David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2004), 210.

[117] Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 295. 685, n.176; Craig L. Blomberg, 'Matthew', in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2007), 74; Watts, 'Mark', 213; Charlesworth, 'Jesus and the Temple', 170–71; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 229.

[118] Blomberg, 'Matthew', 74; Watts, 'Mark', 213.

as Isa 28:16; 8:14; Dan 2:45 are suggestive of a stone typology.[119] Thus, in Mark 12:1-12 Jesus both identifies himself as the son of the owner of the vineyard and also as the messianic stone.

In the telling of the parable Jesus publicly announces and utilises his status as Son of God for the first time, albeit within a parable.[120] Christologically the parable marks Jesus out from the prophets who went before him with a qualitative difference. They were slaves (δοῦλος, Mark 12:2, 4).[121] He is the only beloved son (cf. Gal 4:1-7). The son resembles the slaves in being sent in the same way.[122] However, the son is more intimately and concretely connected to the father. The implication is not that the son is a more competent messenger and so is more likely to be listened to but that the son more completely represents the father than the slaves. The son is functionally a type of slave, but essentially a type of the father. The son of the parable is a microcosm of the typological Christology of Mark.

Snodgrass observes that the use of ἔσχατος (Mark 12:6) serves to underscore the significance of the son.[123] Equally the word "has become a technical term for the end of days" and thus gives an eschatological nuance to the story.[124] The son represents the father so completely that there will be no further messengers. If the tenants do not listen to the son, they will not listen to anyone. There is only judgement left.

In this final miracle and its accompanying parable we have again the two axes. First, Jesus is the son, sent by the father with a message of judgement, a prophet like Jeremiah. Unlike the previous messengers, however, Jesus is the greatest and last. But Jesus is also in the role of

[119] Evans, "Typology," DJG, 865.

[120] Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 294.

[121] Cf. 1QpHab 7. See Charlesworth, 'Jesus and the Temple', 168.

[122] '[T]he way in which the son is aligned with the "slaves" whom the owner sends to the vineyard with no mention of resurrection is hardly in tune with the early church concern to heighten the difference between Jesus and his predecessors.' So, Brooke, '4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard', 291. With this in mind compare Jesus' baptism against the conventions of a biblical call story (e.g. Ezek 1-2; Isa 6; Jer 2), 'the voice of God does not tell Jesus what he must say or do.' Jesus' identity as 'son' is primarily based on his relationship to God rather than his mission from God. So, Van Iersel, *Mark*, 100. Similarly, at the transfiguration the voice from heaven reveals, 'Moses and Elisha are God's servants; Jesus is God's beloved Son.' So, Stein, *Mark*, 418.

[123] Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 288–89.

[124] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 803.

Israel's God looking for fruit on the tree, judging the Temple and its "tenants" and in parabolic deed and prophetic parable enacting and declaring their imminent destruction.

### *§7.2.4 The Son is Slain: Typology and Christology in Mark 14-15*

For now we pass over Mark 13, although I will discuss this within the next section. The conclusion of the passion marks the third and final Christological high point in the Gospel. It is a marked contrast to 1:1-15 and 9:2-8. The supernatural element remains, but is no longer glorifying, anointing and affirming Jesus but instead brings darkness (15:33) and destruction (15:38). God's silence in Gethsemane (14:32-42) prepares us for Jesus' cry of abandonment as Jesus goes through his arrest, trial and execution, apparently alone. Despite the absence of a heavenly voice Jesus is twice marked as the Son of God (14:61; 15:39).

The imagery now moves from the *Akedah* to that of the Passover. Unlike Isaac who was spared by the provision of a ram (Gen 22:13-14), Jesus will be sacrificed. Jesus is the Passover lamb who is to be killed at the festival (Mark 14:1) and whose flesh is consumed in the Passover meal (14:22) and whose blood marks the covenant people (14:24).[125] From the point of view of the Christian reader, the parallelism between the Passover, the eve of Israel's great deliverance, and the Last Supper, on the eve of Jesus' saving death, would be inescapable.[126]

However, the difference between Akedah and Passover traditions should not be overstated. *Jubilees* dates the Passover as the anniversary of Isaak's sacrifice (*Jub.*17:15-16; 18:3; 49:1).[127] *Jubilees* concludes that account by making the Passover connection explicit,[128]

> And he observed this festival every year (for) seven days with rejoicing. And he named it "the feast of the Lord" according to the seven days during which he [i.e. Abraham] went and returned in peace. And thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets concerning Israel and his seed to observe this festival seven days with festal joy. (*Jub.* 18:18-19).[129]

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[125] David Wenham, 'How Jesus Understood the Last Supper: A Parable in Action', *Themelios* 20 (1995): 13–14; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 964–68.

[126] Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives*, 324–25.

[127] Jon Douglas Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 176.

[128] For a more detailed discussion of the theological linking of Akedah and Passover in Jubilees, see Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 84–88.

[129] OTP, 2.91.

Jon Levenson writes,

> Jubilees seems to derive its duration, for which the Hebrew Bible gives no etiology, from Abraham's journey—three days to the mountain, three to return, and one day (the Sabbath) without travel. The journey begins on the twelfth rather than on the evening after the fourteenth (i.e., the beginning of the fifteenth) precisely so that the binding of Isaac will coincide with the date on which the paschal lamb will be offered. Isaac has become the lamb of God, as it were, and Passover.[130]

The link is made widely in later Jewish literature (*Tg Ps.-J.* Exod 12:42; *Tg. Neof.* Exod 12:42; *Exod. Rab.* 15:11; *Mek. Ishmael* 11, 7; *Mek. Shimon* 6).[131] Neither is this connection without scriptural basis. In Exod 13:1, 11-16, the instructions for Passover include "the festival of the offering of the firstborn", where God lays claim to all the firstborn males of Israel.[132] The divine claim and then deliverance of Israel's first born is clearly analogous to the divine claim and deliverance of Abraham and Sarah's firstborn. Also scriptural was the belief that the "Mount of Moriah" of Gen 22:2, also called the "Mount of the Lord" (Gen 22:14), was the location of Jerusalem (2 Chron 3:1; Isa 2:3; 30:29; Ps 24:3; *Jub.* 18:13; Jos. *Ant.* 1.13.2; §226; Tg. Onq. Gen 22:14; *Gen. Rab.* 56.10).[133]

Thus having been established as God's only beloved son and the antitype of Isaac earlier in the Gospel, there is reason to see the presentation of Jesus as Passover sacrifice as an extension rather than a replacement of the Akedah typology.

Indeed, it is possible that the Akedah imagery is alluded to in the Gethsemane account. Jesus' use of "father" (transliterated Aramaic: ἀββά) in Mark 14:36 may reflect Isaac's use of "father" (Hebrew אב) to address Abraham in Gen 22:7, an enduring feature in later recounting (*Jub.* 18:6; Tg. Onq. Gen 22:7; Tg. Ps.-J. Gen 22:7).[134] Although a son calling their father

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[130] Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son*, 177.

[131] Jane L. Kanarek, *Biblical Narrative and the Formation of Rabbinic Law* (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 50–52; Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son*, 180–87; *Vermès, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 214–18.

[132] Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 214.

[133] Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 172; Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son*, 174; Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 2:1438; Huizenga, *The New Isaac*, 82–83.

[134] Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 2:1438; Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 769. For further discussion of ἀββά, see Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 977–78; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 412–13; Bauckham, 'Jesus' Use of "Father" and Disuse of "Lord"', 95–97.

"father" is hardly distinctive, its use within a narrative context of obedience unto death creates a more evocative correspondence.[135] Less generic is Jesus' following statement, "Father, all things are possible to you" (ὁ πατήρ, πάντα δυνατά σοι, Mark 14:36). This may reflect a tradition preserved by Philo's retelling of the Akedah, where Abraham tells Isaac to "know that all things are possible to God" (πάντα δ' ἴσθι θεῷ δυνατὰ, *Abr.* 1:175).[136] Matthew further assimilates Gethsemane to the Akedah from Mark 14:32, καθίσατε ὧδε, to Matt 26:36, καθίσατε αὐτοῦ, alluding to Gen 22:5, καθίσατε αὐτοῦ.[137]

Jesus' death is marked by several details. At noon darkness comes over the whole land (Mark 15:33). Darkness is a biblical image for chaos (Gen 1:2) and associated with judgement (Exod 10:21-23; Jer 15:9; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15) and eschatological events (Joel 2:31).[138] In particular, the phrase σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν (Mark 15:33) is reminiscent of Amos 8:9, συσκοτάσει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.[139] Both passages have the sun going down at noon. In the next verse the consequent mourning will be "like the mourning for an only son (יחיד/ἀγαπητοῦ)" (Amos 8:10).[140] The significance of this is that the reference to יחיד/ἀγαπητοῦ takes us directly back to Gen 22:2, 12, 16 and the Akedah.[141] This is not to downplay Mark's depiction of Jesus' abandonment. As Rindge writes, "in stark contrast to Genesis, Jesus—as Mark's reconfigured Isaac—will not be rescued by a divine voice."[142] Thus the typological comparison highlights the abandonment of Jesus. Despite the hopes of some onlookers (15:36) there is no last minute reprieve.

Jesus cries out from the cross quoting Psalm 22 (Mark 15:34) but bystanders mistakenly think he is calling Elijah (14:35). In the reference to dividing garments (Mark 15:24; Ps 22:18) and

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[135] Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 413.

[136] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 769.

[137] Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1:150.

[138] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 447; it may also evoke the 'Paschal night', so Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 177.

[139] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 1054; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 376; Stein, *Mark*, 715; Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 2:1451; Kee, 'The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16', 183; see also Elizabeth Achtemeier, 'Jesus Christ the Light of the World: The Biblical Understanding of Light and Darkness', *Interpretation* 17 (1963): 446–47.

[140] One of the few Markan commentators to note this is Van Iersel, *Mark*, 474.

[141] יחיד is only used 12 times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch.

[142] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 766.

wagging heads (Mark 15:27; Ps 22:7), Psalm 22 has already been evoked.[143] This use of this Psalm creates an irony.[144] It is a cry of dereliction and abandonment,[145] but just as the reader knows that the psalm ends in praise, confidence and completion of deliverance (Ps 22:21b-31), so too does the reader know that the crucifixion story will end in vindication, deliverance and resurrection (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34).[146] Whether or not Jesus recites the whole psalm from the cross, the features of the psalm evident in the crucifixion narrative are consistently the negative ones. The vindication of the righteous sufferer is not (yet) described in the narrative.[147] In this too, the reader is reminded of the Akedah, where, although Abraham's obedience to God's command is total and the intention to sacrifice real, the Jewish reader knows full well that his or her ancestor survives to father the nation of Israel.

He is given vinegar, ὄξος, to drink by someone who seems to want to prolong his agony in case Elijah rescues him (Mark 15:36). This evokes another psalm of the righteous sufferer, Ps 69:21 (LXX 68:22, ὄξος).[148] The psalmist complains of being falsely accused (Ps 69:4; Mark 14:57), is shamed and derided (Ps 69:7, 11-12; Mark 15:20, 29, 32) and is associated with

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[143] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 442–45; Bernd Janowski, *Arguing with God: A Theological Anthropology of the Psalms*, trans. Armin Siedlecki (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2013), 336.

[144] Arguably, irony is 'the most prominent feature of the passion story.' So, Juel, *Messiah and Temple*, 47. Also 'The fulfilment of Jesus' own prophecies happen in the most darkly ironic context, as if Mark knows that the only way of writing a compelling narrative is to combine the fulfilment motif with the nasty, stark reality of pre-crucifixion mockery.' So, Mark Goodacre, 'Scripturalization in Mark's Crucifixion Narrative', in *The Trial and Death of Jesus: Essays on the Passion Narrative in Mark*, ed. Geert Van Oyen and Tom Shepherd, Contributions to Exegesis and Theology 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 36.

[145] 'The reality of his sense of abandonment must not be minimized.' So Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 507; see also Van Iersel, *Mark*, 475; Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St Mark*, 458; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 375.

[146] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 180–86; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 451; Cranfield, *The Gospel According to St Mark*, 458–59.

[147] Janowski, *Arguing with God*, 338.

[148] Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 508; Van Iersel, *Mark*, 476; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 448; Darrell L. Bock, 'The Function of Scripture in Mark 15:1-39', in *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels, Volume 1: The Gospel of Mark*, ed. Thomas R. Hatina, LNTS 304 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 16.

Jesus in a different Christian tradition of the Temple clearing (John 2:17; Ps 69:9). Again, this psalm ends with praise, deliverance, and restoration (Ps 69:30-36).[149]

The one who gives Jesus the vinegar appears to be hoping for a miraculous deliverance. The reader knows what has happened to "Elijah", that is John the Baptist (Mark 1:14; 6:14-29; 9:13).[150] Elijah has been present at both previous Christological high points: in the person of John the Baptist at Jesus' baptism (1:4-9); in the appearance of Elijah and discussion of John as Elijah at the transfiguration (9:4, 13); and now here, present in the mind, as the futile hope of a bystander (15:36).[151]

Jesus breathes his last with a loud cry and the Temple curtain is torn (σχίζω) in two. This connects back to 1:10, when the heavens are torn (σχίζω) apart. Mark calls attention to this action through the duplication of ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω.[152] The verb σχίζω is rare in the LXX but is used to denote God's salvific action in the parting of the Red Sea (Exod 14:21), the eschatological splitting of the Mount of Olives (Zech 14:4, this may be alluded to in Mark 11:23), and the splitting of the rock in the desert (Isa 48:21). Similarly, in Mark it also denotes the supernatural action of God.

The LXX has two further uses which are relevant. It could be used for the tearing of clothes in mourning (Isa 36:22; 37:21) and so here be interpreted as an expression of God's grief. Given the presence of Akedah typology it is worth noting that the verb also appears in Gen 22:3 when Abraham cuts the wood for the sacrifice of Isaac (see also 1 Sam 6:14 where wood

[149] 'The passion narrative (Mk 14-15) differs significantly from the rest of the third section of Mark in that in these two chapters there are relatively fewer references or allusions to the prophets and a disproportionate number of direct or indirect references to the Psalms. Indeed Psalms 41; 42; 69, and of course 22 are most heavily represented — precisely those Psalms in which the righteous sufferer speaks.' Kee, 'The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11-16', 183.

[150] 'For earlier in the gospel Jesus himself has spoken of Elijah and identified him with John the Baptist (9.11-13): Elijah has come, his message has been spurned, and he himself has been put to death. How then can Elijah now come to aid Jesus?' Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 377.

[151] Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 377; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 447–48.

[152] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 448.

is split [σχίζω] for a sacrifice).[153] Its use in Mark potentially resonates metalyptically with all these scriptural contexts.

Finally, the centurion by the cross comments, ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν (Mark 15:39). As Hooker notes, "[f]or Mark, it is this Gentile soldier who gives to Jesus the title which hitherto has been spoken only by the heavenly voice or unclean spirits."[154] The soldier's acclamation stands in sharp contrast to the earlier mockery (Mark 15:16-20). Yet it also serves as a climax to the passion. Immediately connected by the narrative to the tearing of the curtain (15:38) and the overshadowing darkness (15:33), it parallels the divine voice of 1:11 and 9:7 which was also preceded by supernatural events.[155] Thus there is a discernible progression in the Gospel: the declaration of sonship that only Jesus witnesses (1:11), the declaration of sonship that the disciples witness (9:7), and finally a declaration of sonship by a Gentile (15:39). The declarations do not imply an escalation of Jesus' status as God's son, but a movement from private to public in the recognition of that status.

### *§7.2.5 The King of the Jews: Davidic Royal Typology in Mark 11-15*

One further example of narrative typology at work in Mark remains to be discussed. In Mark, Jesus had previously made a typological comparison between himself and David (2:23-26) and, I have argued, the story of the Gerasene demoniac also employs a David/Goliath typology (5:1-20; see §4 above). At several points of the passion narrative Jesus appears as a type of King David. This effect is achieved by a variety of techniques: a number of specific mentions of David, frequent references to the Davidic prophecy of Zechariah 9-14,[156] some narrative assimilation to David, and a strong royal theme throughout the passion, in particular

[153] Rindge, 'Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God', 763; Stegner, 'The Baptism of Jesus', 43.

[154] Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 378–79.

[155] The level of precision required by Stein (*Mark*, 719) for this analogy to be convincing is unnecessarily high (see §2.7.7). A further but more tenuous connection between 1:10 and 15:37, 39 is provided by the descent of the spirit, πνεῦμα, and the verb ἐκπνέω. See Van Iersel, *Mark*, 477.

[156] On the Davidic messianic hope in Zech 9-14 see Anthony R. Petterson, *Behold Your King: The Hope for the House of David in the Book of Zechariah*, LHBOTS 513 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 129–245; Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives*, 173–78.

the crucifixion. What this section aims to demonstrate is the centrality of narrative typology to Mark's Christological use of scripture in his presentation of Jesus.

In the pericope immediately prior to the triumphal entry Jesus is twice called "son of David" (10:47-48). Then, in Jesus' triumphal entry to Jerusalem the crowd declare: "blessed is the coming kingdom of our ancestor David!" (11:10). The narrative is ambiguous as to how exactly or how reliably these cries relate Jesus to David,[157] but they do serve to bring David to mind and prepare the reader for more subtle David references to come.[158] However, Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem on a colt, accompanied by shouting and Ps 118:25-26 (Mark 11:1-11), strongly evokes Zech 9:9.[159] This connection is made explicitly by Matt 21:4-5. However, Mark may already expect his readers to be alert to allusions from Zechariah 9-14. As discussed earlier,[160] Zech 13:2 is the most likely background text for the Gospel of Mark's language of "unclean spirit/s". I have tried to show how Mark 5:1-20 can be read as a presentation of Jesus as a Davidic messiah come to rid the land of evil in fulfilment of Zech 13:2. Another act of power, the calming of the storm (4:35-41), may also have brought to mind Zech 10:11: "They shall pass through the sea of distress, and the waves of sea shall be struck down." Additionally, the "strange" and "excessive" geographical note that mentions the Mount of Olives in Mark 11:1 may serve to bring Zech 14:4 to mind.[161] The triumphal entry, then, by enacting Zech 9:9 resonates with the earlier portrayal of Jesus and prepares the reader to see the following events of the passion with Zech 9-14 and Jesus' Davidic kingship in mind.

Having entered Jerusalem, Jesus performs his prophetic critique and judgement of the Temple (11:12-25).[162] When Jesus drives out those who are selling and buying (11:15) the reader may have been reminded of Zech 14:21, "and there shall no longer be traders in the

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[157] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 434–35.

[158] Van Iersel, *Mark*, 352.

[159] Bruce, 'The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative', 339; Van Iersel, *Mark*, 353; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 778. As Marcus notes Gen 49:10-11 is also evoked by 'the otherwise superfluous note that the colt is tied (11:2, 4)'.

[160] In §4.10 above.

[161] Henk Jan De Jonge, 'The Cleansing of the Temple in Mark 11:15 and Zechariah 14:21', in *The Book of Zechariah and Its Influence*, ed. Christopher Tuckett (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 88.

[162] See §7.2.3 above.

house of the Lord of hosts on that day."[163] As part of this narrative sequence Jesus tells his disciples that with faith they can command a mountain to throw itself into the sea (11:23). Some have suggested this has a background in Zech 14:4 where two halves of the Mount of Olives withdraw northwards and southwards, respectively.[164] As Evans argues, "Jesus' saying is eschatological, and not simply a lesson on faith. And again reflects the language and imagery of Zechariah."[165]

Jesus responds to the questioning of his authority to do "these things" (11:27-33) with the parable of the vineyard (12:1-12). Jesus' parable of the vineyard most clearly uses Isa 5:1-7 and Ps 118:22-23. However, the reader familiar with Zech 9-14 might also note the connection in Zech 10:3-4 between God's promise to "punish the leaders" and to bring out of the house of Judah "the cornerstone" with the punishment of the religious leaders and cornerstone reference in Mark 12:1-12.

Later, when Jesus' opponents have ceased to dare ask him questions (Mark 12:34), Jesus poses his own question regarding the relationship of the messiah to David (12:35-37). The term Χριστός is most likely to have associations with a Davidic messiah.[166] If this was not

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[163] Barrett, 'The House of Prayer and the Den of Thieves', 19; Evans, 'Jesus and Zechariah's Messianic Hope', 383–84; De Jonge, 'The Cleansing of the Temple in Mark 11:15 and Zechariah 14:21', 90–92; Fernando Bermejo-Rubio, 'The Day of the Lord Is Coming: Jesus and the Book of Zechariah', in *Jesus and the Scriptures: Problems, Passages and Patterns*, ed. Tobias Hägerland, LNTS 552 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 114.

[164] Bruce, 'The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative', 347–48; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 785; see also Van Iersel, *Mark*, 359–60.

[165] Evans, 'Jesus and Zechariah's Messianic Hope', 384.

[166] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 77–78; Nathan C. Johnson, 'The Passion According to David: Matthew's Arrest Narrative, the Absalom Revolt, and Militant Messianism', *CBQ* 80 (2018): 271; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 848; Marcus, 'Identity and Ambiguity in Markan Christology', 137; 'Clearly the overwhelming number of scriptural references to the anointed one do refer to Israel's king, whether in the past or the future, in both the liturgical and historical lines of tradition.' Kee, 'Christology in Mark's Gospel', 188; further, 'Jewish readers around the turn of the era will have understood χριστός to signify an anointed person, even if no one had anointed a king or priest for centuries, because they were familiar with the scriptures in Greek.' So, Matthew V. Novenson, *Christ among the Messiahs: Christ Language in Paul and Messiah Language in Ancient Judaism* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2012), 51.

known from other sources, Jesus' question reveals the connection (12:35). For Marcus, "the evangelist means both to affirm and qualify the idea of Davidic messianism."[167] As France argues, "[i]t seems to have been an unquestioned conviction in first-century Christianity that the title 'Son of David'. . . was appropriate for Jesus" (Matt 1:20; Luke 1:27, 32, 69; 2:4, 11; Rom 1:3-4; 2 Tim 2:8; Rev 5:5; 22:16).[168] Importantly, Jesus, while connecting David and the messiah through his question, also implies that the messiah has a higher status than David or the son of David (12:37). As Kee writes, "The messianic figure does not merely model the Davidic paradigm but surpasses David in a transcendent manner."[169]

Additionally the Davidic messiah was generally associated with violent military victory.[170] This may have tempered Jesus' identification with David,[171] or indeed Mark's identification of Jesus with David.

As we have already noted, the Davidic messianic hope in Zechariah has a prominent role in Mark. In Mark 13 Jesus most closely resembles a prophet. The most pervasive influence on Mark 13 is the book of Daniel.[172] However, Jesus' prophetic words along with his location on the Mount of Olives also evoke the final judgement scene in Zechariah 14.[173] Mark 13:1-8 describes international war and the destruction of Jerusalem, as does Zech 14:1-2. Mark 13:3 places Jesus' prophecy as occurring on the Mount of Olives; Zech 14:4 promises YHWH's feet will stand on the Mount of Olives. With Mark's tendency to assimilate Jesus to Israel's God, this could well be a deliberate Christological device. In Mark 13:14-15 the inhabitants of Judea are told to flee. In Zech 14:5 those in Jerusalem are told "you shall flee". Zech 14:5 promises the arrival of YHWH with his "holy ones". Mark 13:26-27 states that the Son of

[167] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 850.

[168] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 484.

[169] Kee, 'Christology in Mark's Gospel', 203.

[170] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 78; Martin Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), 298–300.

[171] Evans, 'David in the Dead Sea Scrolls', 195.

[172] Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, 207; see also section on Daniel influence in Deane Galbraith, 'Jeremiah Never Saw That Coming: How Jesus Miscalculated the End Times', in *Jeremiah in History and Tradition*, ed. Jim West and Niels-Peter Lemche (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 150-75.

[173] Bruce, 'The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative', 348; Bermejo-Rubio, 'The Day of the Lord Is Coming', 123–24.

Man will come in great glory and send out his angels. These angels are described as "holy ones" in a related passage in 8:38.

While Jesus appears more as prophet than messiah in Mark 13, the messiah theme is still present, especially as Jesus affirms his status as true messiah over and against false messiahs in 13:6, 21-27, and in 13:32 refers to himself as "the son". The correspondences with Zechariah 14 maintain the theme of Davidic messianism within Mark 13.[174] Additionally, David was considered to be a prophet himself (LAB 60:1-3; Acts 2:30). So Jesus acting as prophet does not work against the David typology.

Mark 14 begins with a brief account of the chief priests and scribes conspiring against Jesus (14:1-2) before Jesus is anointed at Bethany (14:3-9). Jesus has been anointed privately at the beginning of the Gospel (1:10-11).[175] David had been anointed privately, in the presence only of his brothers, by Samuel at the beginning of his story and "the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward" (1 Sam 16:13).[176] Jesus' second anointing (Mark 14:3-9), while explicitly for his burial, takes place openly in Bethany in Judea. David's second anointing takes place openly, when he is publicly anointed as king by the people of Judah in Hebron (2 Sam 2:4).

While many scholars see Jesus' Bethany anointing as having messianic symbolism,[177] others object. Boring argues that "Jesus had already been anointed as the Christ by God; he does not just now become messiah by human anointing."[178] However, if the David typology is accepted Boring's objection is vitiated because this second anointing does not need to be seen as the moment Jesus becomes the messiah, but only as an open recognition of the messianic status that was already his.

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[174] In contrast, Daniel as a whole is 'little marked by messianic features', so Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 72.

[175] The baptism of Jesus is interpreted as an anointing in Ps. Jerome, *Com. Marcum.* 1:8. See Cahill, *The First Commentary on Mark: An Annotated Translation*, 33.

[176] Max Botner's study ('The Messiah Is the Holy One') argues convincingly for a Davidic Messianic interpretation of Mark 1:9-13.

[177] Collins, *Mark*, 642; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 359–60; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 390; Garland, *Mark*, 516.

[178] Boring, *Mark*, 383.

More critically, in this context, the verb μυρίζω (14:8) specifically implies anointing for burial, rather than χρίω which would imply anointing to an office.[179]

Collins suggests that μυρίζω could evoke the Song of Solomon (1:3, 4; 2:5; 4:10, 14) and present Jesus as a bridegroom. This in turn parallels Jesus' use of bridegroom imagery in Mark 2:19-20. There, Jesus also predicts that the bridegroom will be taken away (2:20) which Collins sees paralleled in "you will not always have me" (14:7).[180] Also, the bridegroom of the Song is Solomon, the son of David, so such a resonance would support the messianic interpretation of the anointing.

Collins also suggests that the anointing (Mark 14:3-11) followed by the sending of two disciples to find a room (14:12-16) evokes Saul's anointing (1 Sam 10:1) followed by the account of the two men sent to find donkeys and Saul's sending to Gibeath-elohim where he will encounter various preordained signs (10:2-10).[181] For Collins this supports the messianic connotation of the anointing, even as the bridegroom imagery is also operating. This resonance, while possible, is very faint, and it is questionable whether Saul's anointing makes sense within the wider typology of the passion.

In my view, the significance of μυρίζω being used instead of χρίω has been overstated. The Gospel pericope describes the pouring of ointment upon Jesus' head towards the climax of a narrative which has identified Jesus as the messiah from the very first (Mark 1:1). Olive oil (ἔλαιον) poured (ἐπιχέω) on the head is how the kings of the OT were anointed (1 Sam 10: 1; 2 Kgs 9:3, 6). While ointment (μύρον) is not olive oil, the lavish pouring (καταχέω) of an expensive liquid over the head in Mark 14:3 is able to evoke a kingly anointing. The narrative parallels are sufficient without lexical correspondences. The interpretation that the anointing is for Jesus' burial is not given until later in the pericope (14:8). This allows for other inferences to operate earlier. The burial interpretation is not insignificant, but likely expands the meaning of the anointing for the reader, rather than restricting it. Kee observes that the woman, by anointing Jesus for his burial, shows a better understanding of Jesus' messianic mission, and the place of his death in it, than the "erroneous notions of messiahship"

[179] For χρίω, see BDAG, 1091; LSJ, 2007; GE, 2380. For μυρίζω, see BDAG, 661; LSJ, 1154; GE, 1371; also Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 936; Boring, *Mark*, 383.

[180] Collins, *Mark*, 642–43.

[181] Collins, *Mark*, 642 n202.

elsewhere in the Gospel (e.g. Mark 8:29; 12:35; 14:61; 15:32).[182] The story is powerful precisely because it can resonate with so many significant themes: the bridegroom, burial, and royal consecration.

The stories of Jesus' and David's anointing are also linked by the anointed figure promising reward: Jesus to the woman with the jar (Mark 14:9) and David to the people of Jabesh Gilead (2 Sam 2:6-7). Most significantly the people of Jabesh Gilead are honoured for providing for the proper burial of King Saul (2 Sam 2:4-5), while the woman with the jar is honoured for providing for Jesus' burial (Mark 14:8-9).[183] Immediately after the story of David's anointing the story of Abner's opposition to David begins (2 Sam 2:8). Similarly, immediately after the anointing of Jesus Judas acts to betray him (Mark 14:10).

During the last supper Jesus tells his disciples that one of those eating with him (ὁ ἐσθίων μετ᾽ ἐμου, Mark 14:18) will betray him. When he is questioned on this by his distraught disciples he confirms, "It is one of the twelve, one who is dipping bread into the bowl with me" (Mark 14:20). The NRSV adds "bread" which is not present in the Greek but is implied by the context. Mark 14:18 most likely alludes to Ps 41:9 (LXX 40:10), ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου (cf. John 13:18).[184] The "bosom friend" of Ps 41:9, 15 is identified in the Talmud with Ahithophel, David's betrayer in 2 Sam 15:31 (*b. Sanh.* 106b-107a; *Midr.* Ps 41:7).[185] If this connection of Psalm 41 with Ahithopel was known by Mark then the allusion connects Jesus to a particular Davidic episode (2 Sam 15). This tentative conclusion will be reinforced in consideration of the Gethsemane account after the Last Supper.

In the Didache the cup of the Last Supper is associated with David (Did 9:2, περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου). It is possible that Jesus' statement regarding the "fruit of the vine" (Mark 14:25) evokes

[182] Kee, 'Christology in Mark's Gospel', 200.

[183] See especially France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 554 n14.

[184] Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 2.236; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 954.

[185] Johnson, 'The Passion according to David', 256; Collins, *Mark*, 649–51; Pesch, *Das Markus-Evangelium*, 2.350.

messianic exegesis of Psalm 80:8-18.[186] A stronger association is that the phrase "blood of covenant" (Mark 14:24) reflects Zech 9:11.[187]

After the supper Jesus and the disciples go to the Mount of Olives (14:26). Jesus then predicts the disciples' desertion, citing Zech 13:7 (Mark 14:27).[188] With this citation Mark's Jesus presents himself as the royal Davidic messianic shepherd of Zech 13:7 (cf. also Jer 23:1-6; Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24).[189] Jesus' subsequent comment, "But after I am raised up (ἐγείρω) I will go before (προάγω) you to Galilee," reinforces the shepherd theme. "Going before" is how a good shepherd leads their flock (Isa 40:11; John 10:3-5). The divine passive of "raised up" echoes other passages where God promises to raise up a shepherd (Zech 11:16, ἐγείρω; Jer 23:4, ἀνίστημι). The Zechariah citation also reminds the reader of the significance of the Mount of Olives (cf. Zech 14:4). This significance will now gain a new, but still Davidic, facet in the Gethsemane account.[190]

Eugene Boring, among others, observes the similarity between Mark 14:10-42 and 2 Sam 15:16-31 where "David is betrayed by a trusted friend [Ahithopel], goes to the Mount of Olives, weeps, and prays to God."[191] These elements are also present in Jesus' portrayal in Mark 14: betrayal by a disciple (14:10-11, 18-21, 43-46); going to the Mount of Olives (14:26); grief, distress and agitation (14:33-34); and prayer (14:36, 39).

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[186] Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 101–2.

[187] Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1:623; Evans, 'Jesus and Zechariah's Messianic Hope', 386; De Jonge, 'The Cleansing of the Temple in Mark 11:15 and Zechariah 14:21', 88.

[188] Bruce, 'The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative', 340.

[189] Bruce, 'The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative', 344; Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1:128-30; Evans, 'Jesus and Zechariah's Messianic Hope', 384; Bermejo-Rubio, 'The Day of the Lord Is Coming', 120.

[190] For the intriguing but unconvincing argument that Zech 13:7 also inspired or was used to explain the incident with the sword and the high priest's slave (Mark 14:47), see John Muddiman, 'Zechariah 13:7 and Mark's Account of the Arrest in Gethsemane', in *The Book of Zechariah and Its Influence*, ed. Christopher Tuckett (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 101–9.

[191] Boring, *Mark*, 393. Also Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1:125. This connection is considerably elaborated upon by Matthew's Gospel, see Johnson, 'The Passion According to David', *passim*.

Raymond Brown suggests Mark 14:29-30, where the disciples protest their loyalty to Jesus, reflects "the theme of who would remain faithful" from 2 Sam 15:19-21.[192] Peter's declaration of loyalty to Jesus in Mark 14:29, 31 may also echo Ittai's declaration to David in 2 Sam 15:21.

The David/Ahithopel allusion suggested by Psalm 41:9 in Mark 14:18 might bring to mind Psalm 55,[193] which is associated with Ahithophel's betrayal in the Targums and Rabbinic literature (*Targ.* Ps 55:13-24; *b. Sanh.* 106b; *m. Abot* 6.3; *Midr.* Ps 55:1).[194] Psalm 55 also has strong resonances with Gethsemane, particularly Mark 14:34: "I am distraught (λυπέω)" (Ps 55:2) and "My heart is in anguish within me, the terrors of death have fallen upon me" (55:4).

Thus, there are several strong narrative correspondences to David and Ahithopel and possible allusions to Psalms 41 and 55 in Mark's Gethsemane account.[195] Judas' betrayal of Jesus is shown to be of a scriptural type and Jesus' messianic identity as a type of David is further confirmed.

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[192] Brown, The Death of the Messiah, 1:128.

[193] Janowski (*Arguing with God*, 334) finds an intertextual reference of the Gethsemane narrative to Psalm 55 because both Pss 42-43 and Ps 55 'exhibit a similar model of action [to Jesus], involving the friend that has become an enemy.'

[194] Johnson, 'The Passion According to David', 256.

[195] Johnson ('The Passion According to David', 251-54) argues for some other Davidic correspondences which I do not find as compelling. He argues that Jesus' command in 14:42, 'Get up, let us be going' (ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν) is out of place as Jesus and the disciples do not go anywhere. Instead, he suggests, Jesus has been assimilated to David in 2 Sam 15:14 (ἀνάστητε καὶ φύγωμεν). If this were Mark's goal, however, the correspondence would make little sense in terms of narrative sequence. In 2 Samuel ἀνάστητε καὶ φύγωμεν comes before David's knowledge of the betrayal, while in Mark 14 ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν comes after Jesus' knowledge of his betrayal. The semantic correspondence between ἄγω (Mark 14:42) and φεύγω (2 Sam 15:14) is not strong either. Although Jesus' disciples flee (φεύγω) soon after in 14:50, Jesus does not attempt to do so, nor does he suggest this action to his disciples. In Mark 14:45 Jesus is betrayed with a kiss (καταφιλέω). Johnson argues that this also reflects the David narrative, in particular 2 Sam 20:9. The traitor, Joab, leaves Jerusalem with a large group, finds his victim (Amasa), greets him, kisses him (καταφιλέω), and stabs him to death. This correspondence is also not strong, being from a part of the narrative not directly involving David, nor connected to the Mount of Olives.

At the Sanhedrin trial, Jesus admits to being the messiah, saying, ἐγώ εἰμι.[196]Although the messianic hope was variously construed, its "common core" was Davidic.[197] In Jesus' response to the high priest's question he confirms that the messiah, the Son of God (the Blessed One), and the Son of Man, all identify the same person, himself (Mark 14:61-62). By combining the messiah title with Son of God, Mark fully establishes the royal and Davidic connotations of the term Son of God.

Johnson notes several significant scriptures where the son of David is also called a son of God:[198]

- "I will be a father to him, and he will be a son to me." (2 Sam 7:14)
- "You are my son; today I have begotten you." (Ps 2:7)
- "He shall cry to me, 'You are my Father, my God, and the rock of my salvation!' I will make him the firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth. (Ps 89:27-28)

Thus it seems quite possible, especially within the Markan context, that the high priest's question combining messiah with Son of the Blessed one served to clarify the messiah as Davidic. Subsequently, in the trial before Pilate, Jewish terms like messiah and son of the Blessed one are not used. Pilate asks "Are you the King of the Jews?" To which Jesus

[196] Although the shorter reading, following the vast majority of manuscripts, is preferred, that does not imply, here, an allusion to the divine name, but in context is a simple elliptical affirmation. See Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 450; Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*, 910; The longer reading, found in Θ f13 565. 700. 2542s, is argued for by Marcus (*Mark 8-16*, 1005); and Dunn ('The Messianic Secret in Mark', 111) who writes,

> I am much impressed by the arguments in favour of the longer reading in 14:62. What scribe faced by the triumphant and unequivocal ἐγώ εἰμι would dilute it to the colourless and equivocal σὺ εἶπαςὅτι ἐγώ εἰμί? And the longer reading certainly accounts for the texts of Matthew and Luke. In that case Jesus' reply to the High Priest is very similar to His reply to Pilate. To both questions—"Are you the Christ?" and "Are you the King of the Jews?"—Jesus answers in effect, "You could put it that way". He accepts the titles, but at the same time makes it clear that He does not attach the same significance to them as do His questioners (cf. Jn. 18:33-37). These exchanges are important in that they exemplify the dilemma which must constantly have confronted Jesus—could He accept or use simpliciter titles which meant one thing to Himself and some- thing very different to His hearers?.

[197] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 78.

[198] Johnson, 'The Passion According to David', 249.

answers, "you say so" (Mark 15:2). The phrase ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων is then repeated in 15:9, 12, 18, 26 and finally Jesus is called ὁ χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραήλ in 15:32.[199] This change of language should not obscure the fact that the paradigmatic "king of the Jews/Israel" was David and that the anticipated royal messiah was the Son of David. Because Mark has so consistently established the David typology in the passion account thus far, references to Jesus as "king" will continue to have a Davidic resonance.

From this point on there is no escaping the royal theme of the passion narrative. As Juel observes, "Jesus is tried, mocked, and crucified as King."[200] Once Pilate has passed sentence (14:15) the Roman soldiers cloak Jesus in purple, crown him with thorns, salute him, "Hail King of the Jews!", kneel in homage to him (14:17-19), and crucify him under the inscription "The King of the Jews" (15:26).

The whole scene is deeply ironic, as the Christ-believing reader knows that Jesus really is "the king of the Jews" and that his death will not be the end of the story.[201] Even without prior knowledge of the outcome, the reader has been informed several times that Jesus would rise again after his death (8:31; 9:31; 10:34) and knows he is the royal Christ (1:1; 8:29; 14:61-62). Thus the mocking of the soldiers (15:16-20) is also his true coronation.[202] Perhaps most ironic is the centurion's pronouncement at the moment of death. When Jesus seems at his most human, most frail and degraded, most dead, this flat character representing the Gentile Empire of Rome acknowledges the truth of Jesus' most exalted title.[203]

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[199] Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark', 107.

[200] Juel, *Messiah and Temple*, 49.

[201] Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 442; Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 1058.

[202] Boring, *Mark*, 425.

[203] Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, 168. Bauckham ('Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 33) writes,

> Of course, the centurion, thinking in nonjewish categories, may intend only to say that Jesus was "a son of god" in some rather weak sense, though this would still be a remarkable response to what he has witnessed. But Mark surely intends his readers to perceive a fuller meaning: that the divine sonship of Jesus – announced by God to Jesus himself at the beginning of the narrative (1:11) and to the disciples at the midpoint of the narrative (9:7; though there is no indication that they perceive its meaning) — is finally recognized when he dies a Godforsaken death.

Jesus' cry of abandonment, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mark 15:34), cites Ps 22:1, a psalm attributed to David.[204] The citation is the strongest but not the only allusion to Psalm 22 in the crucifixion scene: the mockery in Mark 15:29, 32 may reflect Ps 22:6-7; the wagging heads of Mark 15:29 may reflect Ps 22:7; the challenge to "save yourself" in Mark 15:30 may reflect "let him deliver . . . let him rescue" in Ps 22:8; the divided clothes and casting of lots in Mark 15:24 strongly alludes to Ps 22:19.[205] Perhaps more tenuously, Brown suggests the darkness of Mark 15:33-34 may reflect the "night" of Ps 22:2; being between bandits in Mark 15:27 may reflect "encircled by evildoers" in Ps 22:16; the loud cry and the tearing of the Temple curtain of Mark 15:37-38 may reflect God hearing the psalmist's cry in Psalm 22:24; and Mark 15:39 may reflect the gentile acknowledgement of Israel's God in Ps 22:27.[206]

The centurion's confession, coming immediately subsequent to the tearing of the Temple curtain, may also imply the removal of barriers between Gentiles and Israel's God.[207] If so, then with the centurion's confession Jesus' Gentile mission has come to fruition, and the centurion is a paradigm for all the Gentiles who will come to acknowledge Jesus as the Son of God.[208]

In the passion, scriptural typology continues to play an important role in the Christological meaning of Mark's Gospel. Most prominent are the psalms of the righteous sufferer, including Psalms 22 and 41.[209] They function to portray Jesus with a "righteous sufferer typology."[210] In Jesus' day these were understood to be psalms of David due to the "Davidization of the Psalter" in the Second Temple period.[211] In addition the anointing at Bethany and the Garden of Gethsemane pericopae serve to portray Jesus in terms of the

[204] Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 2:1456; Janowski, *Arguing with God*, 322, 335; Bock, 'The Function of Scripture in Mark 15:1-39', 15–16.

[205] Janowski, *Arguing with God*, 336; Bock, 'The Function of Scripture in Mark 15:1-39', 13–14.

[206] Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 2:1460-62.

[207] Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 378.

[208] Stein, *Mark*, 719; Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 379.

[209] Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 174; Garland, *Mark*, 593–94; Janowski, *Arguing with God*, 330.

[210] Evans, "Typology," DJG, 864.

[211] Janowski, *Arguing with God*, 322.

David narrative, as anointed king and betrayed king. Thus Mark shows Jesus to be the antitype of David.[212]

After Psalm 22 it is Zechariah 9-14 that "offers the most extensive background for the passion."[213] While Zechariah 9-14 provides the background for several disparate motifs in the passion, the themes are given unity by their connection with Davidic messianism.

In opposition to the expectation of a military leader, Jesus' messianic mission finds fulfilment in rejection, humiliation and death. However, his vindication and return in glory and power is also promised. While there is little, if any, assimilation to God here, the supernatural events of the darkness and torn curtain signal to the reader that this death has a significance beyond the deaths of the prophets and kings of scripture, none of whose deaths were accompanied by such signs.

### §7.3 Conclusion

The above survey of typological Christology in Mark's Gospel demonstrates that the typological method exposed in my detailed exegesis of the miracle accounts is plausible given Mark's Christological typology evident elsewhere in the Gospel. The assimilation of Jesus to both scriptural human figures and to God is present throughout.

Although there is considerable variation in Mark's use of scripture, at the fundamental methodological level Mark consistently relates Jesus to the scriptures typologically and in a way that portrays him both in continuity with and escalation over previous human agents of salvation history and assimilates him to the presentation of God in the scriptures. The

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[212] Horbury (*Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*, 32–33) writes,

> The suffering aspect of the royal figure of David goes unmentioned for the most part in sources from the time of Christian origins, but its biblical prominence in the histories and psalms will have kept it in view, as is suggested by the reference to David's flight in Mark 2. 25-26 and parallels. This aspect of the figure of David will then have contributed . . . to the messianic interpretation of the suffering servant of Isaiah and the smitten shepherd of Zechariah.

[213] Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 2:1451. See also Bruce, 'The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative', 342; Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 107.

consistency of Mark's portrayal renders it unlikely that this is accidental. Rather, this most plausibly reflects the Christological convictions of the author regarding Jesus' relationship to the God of Israel and Jesus' status in relation to the human figures of scripture. It now remains to discuss whether these results may be transposed to address the classical Christological questions concerning Jesus' human nature, pre-existence, and divinity.

## §8 Analysing the Typological Christology of the Markan Miracles

> *With him is unsearchable light and no one can know . . . for all the works of God are wonderful. We are flesh. Should we not ponder why he is with us to do miracles and signs without number?* (4Q392 1.7-8)[1]

### §8.1 The Question of Pre-Existence

One way of approaching the question of Christology is to talk about the chronology of Jesus' divinity. Although Kirk calls his Christology of the Synoptics a "high Christology", his reading of Mark is a high Christology of a human who was exalted, not of a divinity who was incarnated.[2] In this view, all that a human Jesus who has been exalted to divinity necessarily lacks, in comparison to a divine Jesus who is incarnated as human, is prior existence as divinity. Correspondingly, Luke (and possibly Matthew)[3] sees Jesus' divinity beginning at conception, and thus earlier than Mark.[4] Only John, among the Gospels, explicitly gives Jesus a pre-human-existence as the divine *logos*.[5] Charles Talbert calls this developmental view, "a long-lived, widespread view of christological development".[6] Dunn considers this view can

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[1] Trans. Chilton et al., *A Comparative Handbook to the Gospel of Mark*, 182.

[2] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 4.

[3] The most common argument for pre-existence in Matthew is via a Wisdom Christology, where Jesus is identified with the figure of Wisdom from the Jewish wisdom traditions. However, although Gathercole argues for pre-existence of Jesus in all the Synoptics, he compellingly refutes that a pre-existent Wisdom Christology is present in the Synoptics (*The Preexistent Son*, 193–209).

[4] Ehrman, *How Jesus Became God*, 240–44.

[5] Ehrman, *How Jesus Became God*, 274–79.

[6] Charles Talbert, *The Development of Christology during the First Hundred Years: And Other Essays on Early Christian Christology*, NovTSup 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3. The complete scheme he describes as,

> (1) At the earliest stage in Christian thought, the parousia was regarded as the point when God would reveal Jesus as the Christ. (2) In a pre-Gospel period (Paul and the speeches of Acts), the resurrection was the chief moment associated with the divine proclamation of the identity of Jesus (Acts 2:32, 36; 13:32–33; Rom 1:3–4; Phil 2:8–9). By virtue of the resurrection Jesus became greater than he had been in the period of his ministry. (3) Mark tells the reader that at Jesus' baptism Jesus was declared Son of God (1:11). (4) Matthew and Luke push the question of Jesus' identity back to his miraculous conception. (5) In John the question is

be "characterized more carefully as the model of 'evolution.'"[7] Examples of such a view can be multiplied and include many noteworthy scholars.[8]

One common element to this view is that Mark's Gospel portrays Jesus becoming the Son of God (in the sense of divinity) at his baptism (Mark 1:9-11).[9] This view may be termed "adoptionism", understanding, as it does, the quotation of Psalm 2:7 in Mark 1:11 as an adoption formula. However, as Hooker argues,

> Certainly Matthew and Luke do not seem to have understood these words as an adoption formula, for they see no difficulty in using them after their own birth narratives – something especially striking if we accept the 'western' text of Luke 3.22 ('today I have begotten you'). Moreover the repetition of the words in Mark 9.7 shows clearly that he regards them as a declaration and not as an adoption.[10]

Additionally, if we date Mark at around 70 AD, there is already evidence from the letters of Paul (e.g. Phil 2:6-11; 2 Cor 8:9), and possibly also from Hebrews (e.g., 1:1-2) and Jude (v5), that Jesus was already understood to be pre-existent by at least some early Christians.[11] Thus, if Mark were intending an adoptionist position to be understood from the baptism account he would, arguably, have needed to be more explicit about it. Mark's baptism account neither demands nor denies the pre-existence of Jesus. It is ambiguous.[12] This coheres with Tilling's wider observation that, "it remains the case that the vast majority of New Testament

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> pressed back to pre-existence prior to creation. Christological development has been conceived in this way for a long time.

[7] James D. G. Dunn, 'The Making of Christology — Evolution or Unfolding?', in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 438.

[8] E.g. Raymond Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 29–32; W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 90; Maurice Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1991); for a critical response to Casey see Dunn, 'The Making of Christology'.

[9] Ehrman, *How Jesus Became God*, 236–46.

[10] Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 48; see also Boring, 'Markan Christology', 465.

[11] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 14, 67; Bird, *Jesus the Eternal Son*, 78; Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 23–41.

[12] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 74; Bird, *Jesus the Eternal Son*, 78.

Christological language is simply not focused on pre-existence. It is not a major concern of the New Testament witness."[13]

### *§8.1.1 Pre-existent Christology in Mark's Miracle Accounts*

Against the christological development view, Simon Gathercole and Mike Bird have argued that implicit in Mark's presentation of Jesus is his pre-existence as a divine entity prior to his incarnation as Jesus of Nazareth.[14]

Pertinent to this study is the way the evidence of the miracles has been brought to bear on this discussion and whether the typological approach strengthens one side of the debate or not. Gathercole, for example, argues that the sea miracles show Jesus "acting *as* God himself" rather than "as one uniquely endowed by God in a *representative* function."[15] On the one hand, the discovery of scriptural narrative typology at work in the sea miracles (§3) certainly confirms that Jesus is portrayed by the narrative acting as God in those situations. On the other hand, acting as God in a situation does not require that Jesus had always been divine, but only that at some point divine prerogatives had been granted to him.

In addition, Gathercole appears to assume that there would be some observable difference between Jesus acting as God or only being a uniquely endowed representative. In Mark, Jesus' power goes beyond that of the human scriptural figures of the past. But if God can do something, then God is also able to grant a person equal ability whether temporarily or permanently, just as any human sovereign could delegate their authority to others.[16] Jesus fails to invoke or acknowledge God in any of his miracles (except perhaps 7:34 where he looks to heaven in the healing of the deaf man) which might imply Jesus' power is

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[13] Chris Tilling, 'Problems with Ehrman's Interpretive Categories', in *How God Became Jesus: The Real Origins of Belief in Jesus' Divine Nature*, ed. Michael F. Bird (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2014), 120.

[14] Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*; Bird, *Jesus the Eternal Son*.

[15] Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 61, emphasis original.

[16] For Bauckham (*Jesus and the God of Israel*, 158) 'God is sole Creator and sole Ruler of all things' and 'these are not mere functions that can be delegated to creatures.' His argument will be addressed at length below. However, here it can be noted that performing miracles does not impinge upon these ultimate divine prerogatives.

independent of God's.[17] Yet, Jesus' dependence upon God is seen in his reception of the Spirit (1:10) and his prayer (1:35; 6:46). It cannot be argued that, in Mark, Jesus' power is independent of or in addition to God's power. Rather, his power is an extension of God's power. Thus, the data from the Markan miracles are ambiguous in respect of Jesus' pre-existence.[18]

### *§8.1.2 Typology and Pre-existence*

Typology, however, may provide an alternative way to think about Jesus' pre-existence. Hengel writes, "the problem of 'pre-existence' necessarily grew out of the combination of Jewish ideas of history, time and creation with the certainty that God had disclosed himself fully in his Messiah Jesus of Nazareth."[19] These Jewish ideas of history, time and creation, find one form of expression in what I have termed typology (see §2). Because early Christians saw Jesus as the fulfilment of scriptural history he could be understood to be in some sense already present in those characters and events which typologically prefigured him. This tendency is explicit in 1 Cor 10:4, where a Jewish tradition concerning the Exodus (LAB 10:7; 11:15) becomes a tradition about Christ's presence in the Exodus. Arguably, 1 Cor 10:9; John 12:41; Matt 23:37; and Jude 5, all show that same tendency.[20] The NT witnesses how Christians transferred the significance and meaning of the saving events of Israel's history to Jesus and his work.[21]

When Jesus is understood in this way, his life, death and resurrection become the necessary prerequisite for the stories of the scriptures. For the Christian typologist, it is Jesus Christ who gave shape to the story, characters and message of the Jewish scriptures. This influence of Christ could of course be eschatological; the influence of the coming future drawing the past and present towards itself. Combined with belief in God's foreknowledge (an

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[17] Sigurd Grindheim, *God's Equal: What Can We Know about Jesus' Self-Understanding in the Synoptic Gospels*, LNTS 446 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 41–43.

[18] For other arguments for pre-existence in Mark see Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 236–39, 244–45, 252–54, 274–75.

[19] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 72.

[20] See further, Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 210–21; Simon Gathercole, 'Pre-Existence, and the Freedom of the Son in Creation and Redemption: An Exposition in Dialogue with Robert Jenson', *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 7 (2005): 40–41.

[21] Gathercole, 'Pre-Existence and the Freedom of the Son', 40–41; Hengel, *The Son of God*, 68.

assumption of Jewish prophecy, e.g. Isa 48:3), such an eschatological influence would also require a prior ideal existence, that is, existence as an idea, in the mind of God.

An ideal existence in God's mind could be represented figuratively as a real presence in heaven, which could easily then be understood literally by a reader.[22] Such an ideal existence may well be implied for the son of man in 1 Enoch 48 who is given a name before time (48:2). Before the creation of the sun, moon, stars, or earth (48:3, 6), he was the "chosen one" and was concealed in God's presence (48:6). The hiddenness of the Enochic son of man probably implies only an ideal existence but could easily be read as a real pre-existence, that is, substantial and actual, in heaven.[23] The messiah figure(s) of 4 Ezra 11-13 also imply some form of pre-existence: for the lion, "this is the Messiah whom the Most High has kept until the end of days," (12:32) and for the figure of a man, "this is he whom the Most High has been keeping for many ages" (13:26).[24]

Similarly, in a later Jewish text (*Pesiq. Rab*. 36.1) Satan requests to see the messiah, identified with the light of Gen 1:4, who is hidden under God's throne.[25] When Satan sees the messiah he sees his own forthcoming judgement and annihilation. Here there is a connection between eschatology (Satan's judgement), a liminal existence in heaven (hidden under God's throne) and creation (Gen 1:4). Although the messiah's existence is "contemplated" by God and therefore ideal, he is seen by both God and Satan, and later has a conversation with God concerning his coming suffering. The *Pesiqta Rabbati* is centuries older than Mark (550-650 CE),[26] but serves as an illustration of how the division between real and ideal existence is easily blurred.

Some rabbis also read the messiah into the creation story via the hovering of the spirit of God in Gen 1:2 and Isa 11:2, "the Spirit of the Lord will rest upon him" (*Pesiq. Rab*. 33.6).[27] The eschatological promise of the spirit's rest in Isa 11:2 required that the spirit's rest in Gen 1:2 implied the presence of the messiah. This is "the proof that the king Messiah existed from

[22] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 69.

[23] John J. Collins, 'The Son of Man in First-Century Judaism', *NTS* 38 (1992): 455.

[24] Collins, 'The Son of Man in First-Century Judaism', 464.

[25] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 71.

[26] Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies*, 241.

[27] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 70.

before the creation of the world" (*Pesiq. Rab*. 33.6).[28] Likewise, in *Genesis Rabbah* 1.4 the messiah was "decided to be created" (citing Ps 93:2), and at creation "the name of the messiah was" (citing Ps 72:17). And in *Gen. Rab.* 1:6 the light of creation is the messiah (citing Isa 60:1). We can see in those texts how eschatological belief in a messiah required a creational complement. The beginning was made to reflect the end. These texts demonstrate how in ancient Jewish contexts belief in an eschatological messiah could result in speculation towards that messiah's pre-existence.

Gathercole objects to the category of ideal pre-existence, because, he argues, it would extend to everything that ever was, is, or will be, because of God's omniscience.[29] This objection fails on two counts. First, ideal pre-existence of the messiah is clearly present in Jewish writing, as discussed above, and is a concept distinct from God's general omniscience. Secondly, even if a classical definition of omniscience is appropriate here, the porridge I had for breakfast this morning may preveniently exist in God's mind without there being any need for it to be visually represented to any Jewish sage or angel who visited God's throne in heaven or had a vision. In contrast, the eschatological significance of the messiah would make him essential viewing for a heavenly being or enraptured prophet who wanted to know about the end times.

Tilling argues that pre-existence is not a "first principle" that organises the New Testament but is instead "logically derivative" from Christ's transcendence.[30] In doing so he echoes Hengel's earlier argument that there was an "inner necessity" to the development of pre-existent Christology.[31]

The typological model confirms this logical progression. If Jesus is the antitype of the scriptural miracle workers then in some way his reality influenced those pre-figuring types. This could be conceptualised as taking place either on the horizontal plane, eschatologically, or on the vertical plane, as the ideal or real heavenly existence of the messiah from before creation. By taking narrative out of time in order to say "this is that", as typology does, chronology ceases to be absolute. We see Moses and Elijah – prophets long gone – talking on

[28] Leon Nemoy, ed., *Pesikta Rabbati*, trans. William G. Braude, Yale Judaica, XVIII (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968), 2:642.

[29] Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 287.

[30] Tilling, 'Problems with Ehrman's Interpretive Categories', 121.

[31] Hengel, *The Son of God*, 71.

the mountain with Jesus (Mark 9:2-7). When we read the Jewish scriptures through Mark's eyes we "see" Jesus – who is yet to come – calming storms, sharing bread in the wilderness, raising the dead, and delivering from evil spirits.

A typological mind-set logically necessitates either Jesus' pre-existence in some form, or at least a view of reality where time is not unidirectional but in which the future can in some sense influence the past. Pre-existence is neither the goal nor the motivation for Mark's typology. But, once Jesus is established as the fulfilment of scripture, typology in some sense implies his pre-existence, whether real or ideal. If it is ambiguous as to whether or not the author of Mark had arrived at this conclusion, and it is, then at the least Mark's use of scriptural typology supports the development of pre-existence Christology.

### §8.2 The Question of Divinity

*Divinity* in and of itself is not a particularly precise word. Before I can assess the presentation of Jesus as divine within the Markan miracles, a higher degree of precision in terminology is required. Bauckham articulates his category of *divine identity* wherein the sovereign creator God is divine and all other beings are not.[32] In this strict sense, even other heavenly beings are not divine.[33] This will here be termed *exclusive divinity*, as opposed to an *exclusive monotheism* which denies other divine beings are by God's side.[34] On the other hand, divinity can be framed as a category that includes and stems from Israel's God but also includes angels and particular, uniquely spiritual or powerful, humans.[35] This will be termed *inclusive*

[32] Richard Bauckham, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism', in *Out of Egypt: Biblical Theology and Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Craig Bartholomew et al. (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004), 187–232; see also the response to Bauckham's critics in Andrew Ter Ern Loke, *The Origin of Divine Christology*, SNTSMS 169 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 53–66.

[33] Bauckham, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism', 211.

[34] Michael Mach, 'Concepts of Jewish Monotheism during the Hellenistic Period', in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, ed. C. C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 24; however, this terminology can be used differently, see, e.g., Hurtado who terms restriction of worship to the one high god, or monolatry, 'exclusivist monotheism', 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism', *JSNT* 71 (1998): 23; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 6.

[35] William Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Biblical and Historical Studies* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 12–19; Ehrman, *How Jesus Became God*, 83; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 'Worship

*divinity*.[36] These modern categories denote competing tendencies that were operating within Judaism.[37] Among the early Jews it is apparent that monotheism could be "flexible".[38] While some early Jews anticipated the rabbis in a strict exclusive conception of divinity, others show evidence of a more inclusive conception, with biblical roots, that gradually faded out as confrontation with Christianity required a more exclusive stance.[39] Another possible

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and Monotheism in the Ascension of Isaiah', in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, ed. C. C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 73–74.

[36] William Horbury, 'Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age', in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy North, JSNTSup 263 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 17; Horbury uses the term 'inclusive monotheism' in a similar way. However, this term is not used consistently in the literature, e.g. the different definitions of Bob Becking, 'The Boundaries of Israelite Monotheism', in *The Boundaries of Monotheism: Interdisciplinary Explorations into the Foundations of Western Monotheism*, ed. Anne-Marie Korte and Maaike De Haardt (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 13; and Patrick Chatelion Counet, 'The Divine Messiah: Early Jewish Monotheism and the New Testament', in *The Boundaries of Monotheism: Interdisciplinary Explorations into the Foundations of Western Monotheism*, ed. Anne-Marie Korte and Maaike De Haardt (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 49; another synonymous term is 'monarchial monotheism', see Bernhard Lang, 'Der monarchische Monotheismus und die Konstellation zweier Götter im Frühjudentum: Ein neuer Versuch über Menschensohn, Sophia und Christologie', in *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Martin A. Klopfenstein (Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 562.

[37] Bernhard Lang associates exclusive or absolute monotheism with radical Diaspora Judaism and inclusive or monarchic monotheism with a more liberal Palestinian Judaism, 'Der monarchische Monotheismus und die Konstellation zweier Götter im Frühjudentum', 559–60; Horbury, 'Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age', 23, 43; Mach, 'Concepts of Jewish Monotheism during the Hellenistic Period', 24–25; For an excellent study demonstrating the 'dynamic' nature of Jewish monotheism see, Menahem Kister, 'Some Early Jewish and Christian Exegetical Problems and the Dynamics of Monotheism', *JSJ* 37 (2006): 548–93.

[38] E.P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66CE* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2016), 398–407.

[39] Horbury, 'Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age', 17–23; Mach, 'Concepts of Jewish Monotheism during the Hellenistic Period', 37–42; James D. G. Dunn, 'Was Jesus a Monotheist? A Contribution to the Discussion of Christian Monotheism', in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy North, JSNTSup 263 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 118; Hurtado, 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism', 24.

motivating factor towards exclusive monotheism was positive engagement with Greek high culture and philosophy that speculated on the existence of a single source behind the world of the Greek gods.[40] However, Greek philosophy and culture could also be a motivating factor for inclusive tendencies.[41] Because early Judaism was neither monolithic nor static, both approaches to conceiving divinity will be examined to see whether they help elucidate Mark's Christology.

## §8.3 Exclusive Divinity:

### *§8.3.1 Richard Bauckham's Divine Identity*

Richard Bauckham, in his seminal study *God Crucified*, republished in *Jesus and the God of Israel*, seeks to move beyond the traditional Christological categories of "functional" and "ontological", and proposes the "category of Divine Identity".[42] For Bauckham, the early Jews understood there to be an "absolute distinction between God and all other reality."[43] This is primarily God's unique status as creator and sovereign,[44] thus "the highest possible

[40] Mach, 'Concepts of Jewish Monotheism during the Hellenistic Period', 32; Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (London: Routledge, 2000), 217; this process is presumably behind the LXX of Job 28 and Prov 8 which both reduce Wisdom's role in favour of stricter monotheism, see Max Küchler, 'Gott und seine Weisheit in der Septuaginta (Ijob 28; Spr 8)', in *Monotheismus und Christologie: Zur Gottesfrage in hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Hans-Josef Klauck, Quaestiones Disputatae 138 (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 118–43; Lang, 'Der monarchische Monotheismus und die Konstellation zweier Götter im Frühjudentum', 562.

[41] Horbury, 'Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age', 31; Lang, 'Der monarchische Monotheismus und die Konstellation zweier Götter im Frühjudentum', 562; Sylvia Schroer, 'Die personifizierte Sophia im Buch der Weisheit', in *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Martin A. Klopfenstein (Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 554.

[42] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 20.

[43] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 20, 157.

[44] Bauckham, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism', 208, 211; Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 19, 154.

Christology [is] the inclusion of Jesus in the unique divine identity."[45] Importantly, divine identity focuses on *who* God is rather than *what* God is, that is, identity as opposed to divine nature or essence.[46]

In Bauckham's discussion of the Gospel of Mark he writes, "A purely functional account of Jesus' divinity in this Gospel is not adequate; rather Mark shares with early Christian writers in general . . . a Christology of divine identity."[47] He also writes, "Throughout the narrative, Mark provides indications for his readers that Jesus does not merely act on God's behalf . . . but actually belongs to the divine identity."[48]

For Bauckham,

> The culmination of these indications comes in Jesus' words to the high priest (14:62), where Jesus' claim to be seated beside God on the cosmic throne from which God rules all things can only be, from a Jewish theological perspective, a claim to share in the unique divine identity of the God who alone rules over all things.[49]

Bauckham's comments on Mark are, unfortunately, brief. At this point it suffices to observe that Bauckham argues for the category of Divine Identity, which he considers to be representative of the early Jewish theological perspective, and proposes that membership of this category is indicated in texts by the twin criteria of creation and sovereignty. It must then be asked whether such a paradigm is applicable to Mark's miracles.

### *§8.3.2 Divine Identity and Mark's Jesus*

In Mark's depiction, Jesus transcends ordinary humanity. He is able to command demons and angels (Mark 5:1-20; 13:27), to shine with heavenly glory (9:2-7; 13:26), and has a unique and privileged position at the eschaton (8:38-9:1; 14:62). For Bauckham, and following other proponents of divine identity Christology, Jesus' divinity in Mark is not simply that of an exalted human, however highly exalted, but is a divinity that brings Jesus into the identity of Israel's God. In this conception, there is all of heaven and earth, including angels and

[45] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 19.

[46] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 154.

[47] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 264–65.

[48] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 265.

[49] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 265.

patriarchs, on one side of the line, and then on the other side there is God and Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus, if divine, is not a second creator god, but shares in God's divine identity.[50]

Prior to Mark at least some Christians were redefining the *Shema* to incorporate Jesus (1 Cor 8:6). This redefinition included Jesus in the sovereignty of Israel's God ("one Lord, Jesus Christ"), in the creation of heaven and earth ("Jesus Christ, through whom are all things"), and even sustaining of existence ("and through whom we exist").[51] The same thought is apparent in Col 1:15-20 and Heb 1:1-3. In all three passages there is no sense that something controversial is being promoted or defended. Rather these assertions of Jesus' inclusion in the divine identity are given as the premises on which further arguments will be made.[52]

On the one hand, such statements exalt Jesus' status well beyond the pattern of the divine men of Jewish traditions (e.g. Moses in Philo [e.g. *QE* 2.29, 40] or Simon ben Onias in Sirach [e.g. Sir 50:1-20]). On the other hand, such statements resemble (even if they exceed) Jewish concepts such as wisdom, Logos, and Metatron, and the Angel of the Lord.[53] While there may be an objective difference between a personification and an entity, in the imagination of early Jews there is no reason why a literary personification could not come to be interpreted as either an actual entity or serve as a model for another person.[54] This may well have been happening in the case of the literary personification of wisdom in Job 28 and Prov 8 and would explain why Jews translating these passages into Greek considerably reduced Wisdom's role and independence from that portrayed in the Hebrew.[55] What began as a literary personification was perceived to be either reified as an entity or at least open to that interpretation and Jewish writers keen to safeguard their God's exclusive divinity correspondingly edited that personification out.

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[50] Bauckham, x; Sigurd Grindheim, *Christology in the Synoptic Gospels: God or God's Servant?* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 149.

[51] David B. Capes, *The Divine Christ: Paul, the Lord Jesus, and the Scriptures of Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2018), 120, 137; Chris Tilling, *Paul's Divine Christology* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2015), 82–86; Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 97–104, 141, 210–18.

[52] Andrew Chester, 'High Christology: Whence, When and Why?', *Early Christianity* 2 (2011): 36–37.

[53] For references and discussion of these see §8.4.1 below.

[54] Contra Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 209.

[55] Küchler, 'Gott und seine Weisheit in der Septuaginta'.

So Bauckham rightly argues that Jesus becomes included in the creator God's identity in such texts as John 10:30; 1 Cor 8:6; Heb 1:1-4; Col 1:15-20.[56] Jesus is not presented as a creature but is instead the one through whom the creator makes all things, an essential aspect of the creator's identity. But can we make a similar argument from the Gospel of Mark?

For Bauckham Mark 14:62 establishes Jesus as part of the divine identity and thus as on the creator side of the creator-creation divide.[57] However, neither the sitting at God's right hand of Ps 110:1 nor the coming with the clouds of heaven from Dan 7:13 necessarily demand Jesus' identification as creator. As Hurtado has pointed out, in Rev 3:21 "Laodicean Christians are promised a seat with Christ on his throne, which he shares with God!"[58] While it is possible this image implies divinisation of the Christians, what it does not suggest is that they are uncreated. Most notably, Dan 7:13-14 goes well beyond the explicit claims of Jesus in Mark 14:62. The kingship of the one like a son of man is universal, everlasting and indestructible, echoing the kingdom of the Most High God in Dan 4:3.[59] As Bauckham observes, "the terms in which the sovereignty of the Son of Man are described in Daniel 7:14 are closely similar to those used elsewhere in Daniel of God's own sovereignty (Dan. 4:3; 4:34; 6:26)."[60] Yet, there is no indication in either Daniel or Second Temple Jewish interpretation of Daniel that this redefines or challenges Jewish monotheism.[61] Within Jewish thought it was possible for someone (whether the son of man in Daniel is understood as an individual or corporate figure) to have such dominion given to them by God, without also assuming the identity of creator.

Bauckham argues that the sovereignty of the Son of Man in Dan 7:9 "does not describe God's permanent rule of the world, but the eschatological session of the divine court of judgement,

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[56] Bauckham, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism', 220–28.

[57] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 265; also Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 32.

[58] Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003), 47.

[59] Martin Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2001), 185.

[60] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel.*

[61] A point made emphatically by Bauckham (162, 164); however, there is evidence that Dan 7:9 later became a locus of the 'two powers heresy' (e.g. Mek. R. Shimon 15; Mek. R. Yishmael 5.4; Pesiq. Rab. 21), see Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Boston, MA.: Brill, 2002), 33–36.

and so could readily be understood as set on earth rather than in heaven."[62] He also argues that in 1 Enoch 46:5; 48:5; 62:6, 9, the Son of Man is included in the identity of God because he both sits on God's throne and is recognised by the worship of kings and mighty ones as one "who rules over all."[63] When compared, Mark's use of Son of Man and throne imagery (e.g. 14:62) corresponds to that in Daniel because it is eschatologically oriented, but not to 1 Enoch because Jesus is not worshipped. In 4 Ezra, another early Jewish text employing imagery from Dan 7,[64] a messianic one "like a figure of a man" (4 Ezra 13:3),[65] who is also possibly termed God's son (4 Ezra 13:32, 37),[66] performs eschatological judgement upon the nations (4 Ezra 13:10-11, 37-38) without any hint of being involved in creation. Thus considering the son of man figure in Dan 7:9, 1 Enoch and 4 Ezra suggests that the eschatological enthronement of the Son of Man in Mark does not require Jesus to have also had a role in creation.

After the Second Temple period, the rabbis record a controversy over the "thrones" of Dan 7:9. R. Akiva asserted that one throne beside the throne of God was for David. R. Yosei objects to this on the grounds that no one could sit next to God (*b. Ḥag.* 14a; *b. Sanh.* 38b).[67] While the thrones caused controversy, which nonetheless demonstrates that some Jewish teachers could conceive of a human (David) exalted to sit next to God, the dominion of the Son of Man does not receive any qualification or comment, suggesting it did not present as an issue.

In a later essay Bauckham clarifies his position, "The language of Dan 7:13-14 does not so clearly require this meaning [of divine identity], since the figure "like a human being" does not share the heavenly throne of God and is merely said to be given rule over all people on earth. It is the combination of this text with Ps 110:1 that makes this "Son of man" an

[62] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 161–62; the same chapter was first published as Bauckham, 'The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus'.

[63] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 171.

[64] Collins, 'The Son of Man in First-Century Judaism', 461–62; Thomas B. Slater, 'One like a Son of Man in First-Century CE Judaism', *NTS* 41 (1995): 196.

[65] OTP, 1.551.

[66] For this argument see Collins, 'The Son of Man in First-Century Judaism', 462–63.

[67] William Horbury, 'Die jüdischen Wurzeln der Christologie', *Early Christianity* 2 (2011): 20; Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology*, 194–96.

unambiguously divine figure."[68] But what does Psalm 110 add to Daniel 7 in terms of divine identity? Psalm 110 was received in early Judaism as a Psalm of eschatological expectation (11QMelch [13]; *Midr. Pss, parasha* 4), which capitalised upon the psalm's association of kingship with divinity, with the king understood to be co-regent and supported by God.[69] Moreover, in Dan 7:9 there are multiple thrones, so by conflating Dan 7:13 and Ps 110:1 sitting at the right hand of God does not likely imply sharing God's throne, but sitting on a throne "next to God himself."[70] Finally, as Bauckham himself argues, the direction of Jesus' "coming" in Mark 14:62 is to earth, to the thrones set up for eschatological judgement.[71] This is not to deny the exalted nature of the claim Jesus is making for himself here, but the claim is one of eschatological kingship and judgement. This is a claim to divinity in being empowered and approved by God, but not one requiring divine identity.

Bauckham further suggests that for Mark the title Son of God "indicates Jesus' unique relationship to God as one who participates in the divine identity."[72] As argued above, in Mark the language of Son of God and beloved son relate primarily to Jesus as the new Isaac.[73] This designation creates a uniquely special relationship between Jesus and God, but does not require creation or sovereignty to be attributed to Jesus.

Bauckham also argues that Mark's use of Isa 40:3 in Mark 1:2-3 "is an instance of the common early Christian practice of applying to Jesus Old Testament texts that use the divine name."[74] Bauckham's conclusion that this necessarily places Jesus in the exclusive divine identity does not, however, necessarily follow. The context of the Isaiah and Malachi citations is eschatological deliverance. Their use by Mark requires that Jesus be seen as the manifestation of God's saving purposes. It requires that Jesus' ministry be seen as the fulfilment of God's promise to "come to Zion". It requires that Jesus' "way" also be understood as God's way. It does not require that Jesus be understood to be involved in creation or universally sovereign.

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[68] Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 32.

[69] Marcus, *Mark 8-16*, 1007; Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 132–37.

[70] Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 451.

[71] Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 35–36.

[72] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 265.

[73] See §§7.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.2.4.

[74] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 265.

The typological exegesis of my earlier chapters reveals that Jesus' power, actions and relations strongly resemble those of God in the Jewish scriptures. Bauckham's divide requires that a divine Jesus be understood as included in the identity of God as creator, which then necessarily requires some form of pre-existence. As we have already concluded that pre-existence is neither motivating nor required by Mark's narrative, so it cannot be argued that Mark presents Jesus as included in the identity of God-as-creator.

That said, Jesus in Mark is never *given* authority over sin, the Sabbath, or creation. Mark portrays this authority as inherent to Jesus. While Jesus receives the Spirit in 1:10 the words from heaven only mention being pleased with Jesus, not imparting any authority to him (compare Mark 6:7). The consistent pattern noted in the miracles, is that Jesus does not invoke God or pray, but is instead invoked and petitioned, and that Jesus is the source of power in each situation. This suggests that Jesus' power is qualitatively different from those who receive their power from God. To put it in certain terminology, Jesus acts in God's own role as a "bearer of numinous power".[75] Thus the transcendence of Jesus in the miracles speaks to a level of power and authority beyond that of even an exalted human. Hence, Bauckham argues that these miracles also suggest divine identity.[76] This level of inherent power is unprecedented within Jewish literature. Nevertheless, it does not necessitate an exclusive divine identity for the same reasons as just discussed with regard to Jesus sitting at the right hand of God. Even if Jesus' numinous power did not derive from God at all, and it is certain that in Mark it should ultimately be understood as deriving from God (e.g. Mark 1:10), bearing such power does not satisfy the criteria of either absolute sovereignty or responsibility for creation.

Jesus' acts of power force the disciples and the reader to questions of identity, "who is this?" (Mark 4:41; also 1:27). The reader who recognises the scriptural typology at work is able to say, "this is a greater Jonah, David, Elisha and Moses." Perhaps they may also say, "this is the God of the scriptures." Mark's typology generates the paradox that Jesus is both an anointed human agent of God and in some powerful but imprecise sense God. Hays sums this up, "Jesus, seems to be at the same time—if we may put it crudely—*both the God of Israel and a human being not simply identical with the God of Israel*."[77] Yet in almost all the

[75] Grindheim, *God's Equal*, 42; Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 386.

[76] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 265 n41.

[77] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 78, emphasis original.

miracles (6:45-52 and 9:2-8 being the possible exceptions) the initial and strongest typological identification is not with God but with a human scriptural character.

### *§8.3.3 Divine Identity in Exegesis of the Markan Miracles*

Richard Hays applies his intertextual method developed in his earlier work on Paul to the four canonical Gospels.[78] Hays argues that Mark's Christology cannot be reduced to propositional assertions. He writes: "[Jesus'] mysterious identity is suggested through narrative figuration rather than asserted by means of direct statement."[79] As a result, "The 'meaning' of Mark's portrayal of the identity of Jesus cannot be rightly stated in flat propositional language; instead, it can be disclosed only gradually in the form of narrative, through hints and allusions that project the story of Jesus onto the background of Israel's story."[80]

Hays is also explicit that his work is not a defence of an "early high Christology."[81] However, he does employ Bauckham's category of divine identity in his interpretation of individual Gospel episodes. Consequently, Bauckham, among others, considers Hay's work to be a vindication of the divine identity hypothesis: stating, "One of the most important aspects of Richard Hays's new book is his demonstration, on the basis of the scriptural echoes in each Gospel, that all four canonical Gospels propound a "high" Christology or, it would be better to say, a Christology of divine identity."[82] What makes Hays' work important for this study is that, arguably, his study of Mark's use of scripture is hindered by his use of the category of divine identity.

In Hays' treatment of the calming of the storm in Mark he dismisses Jonah 1 as a background text in a brief endnote.[83] This despite the fact that, as I have argued, it satisfies far more of

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[78] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*; for his earlier works on Paul see, idem, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*; idem, *The Conversion of the Imagination*.

[79] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 76.

[80] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 103.

[81] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 7.

[82] Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 21.

[83] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 384, n105.

Hays' own criteria for intertextuality than the scripture he does discuss, Psalm 107.[84] Perplexingly, in support he cites Marcus and Pesch on Mark 4:35-41, but both these scholars advocate for the Jonah parallel.[85] For Hays the parallel to Jonah is unconvincing, because Jesus, in calming the storm, is more similar to God than to Jonah. But this, according to my exegesis, is the whole point of the parallel.

If Hays had applied his own intertextual criteria to the question of Jonah 1's influence on Mark 4:35-41, they would have shown him the importance of Jonah 1 to Mark 4:35-41. Instead, Hays interprets the story against a selection of scriptural texts which ascribe storm stilling and control of the sea to YHWH.[86] While his conclusion that, "Jesus somehow embodies the presence of God" is correct,[87] what has been missed is the rich allusion to Jonah and the human aspect of Jesus' portrayal. Even Jesus' very human sleeping in the boat after a hard day's preaching is made, by Hays, into a sign of his divinity, referencing Psalm 44:23, "Rouse yourself! Why do you sleep, O Lord?"[88]

Hays does not discuss a scriptural background for Mark 5:1-20.

In a note, Hays briefly discusses Horsley's suggestion that Elijah traditions are behind Mark 5:21-43.[89] He argues the identification of Jesus with Elijah is both present but also mistaken. In this regard he cites Mark 6:14-16 and 8:27-30, and argues that, for Mark, John the Baptist is the new Elijah (citing 9:9-13). He does not discuss the text beyond this, nor does he explain how Mark 5:21-43 is to be understood in light of the Elijah background. Hays' objection to an Elijah identification may be mitigated by the recognition that Elisha follows Elijah (as Jesus follows John) and that, as I argued in §5 above, Elisha's raising of the Shunamite's son is behind the Markan story, not Elijah's raising of the widow's son.

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[84] See §3 for my discussion of these texts. Many of the criteria developed in §2 are based upon Hay's method.

[85] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 384, n105; Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 338; Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.269.

[86] Ps 107; Job 38:8-11; Ps 89:9; 65:7; 106:8-12; 44:23; Isa 51:9-11. See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 66–69.

[87] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 69.

[88] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 69.

[89] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 379 n60; Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story*, 231–53.

In Hays' discussion of the feeding of the five thousand he focuses on Ezek 34:11-15, particularly the promise that "I myself [i.e. the LORD] will be the shepherd of my sheep, and I will make them lie down" (34:15) and suggests that Jesus may be symbolically declaring, "You are my sheep, the sheep of my pasture, and I am your God" (34:31).[90] He does not discuss how the Elisha or Moses stories might be behind some of the imagery, despite the fact that his own criteria would show them to be stronger intertextual resonances for the Gospel episode. As with Mark 4:35-41, the impression is given that the pursuit of a divine identity for Jesus has obscured the search for "echoes of scripture," and the rich allusions to human characters and miracles of the scriptures, made by Mark, have been missed.

### *§8.3.4 Mark's Jesus is not Divine in an Exclusive Sense*

Within Mark's Gospel, Jesus' evident humanity and subordination to God define him as a creature. Within the conceptual framework of exclusive divinity Jesus must be identified as being solely on the creature side of Bauckham's line. Mark's Jesus both meets the criteria for a creature and fails to satisfy Bauckham's criteria for being divine. Nothing occurs in the miracle accounts that contradicts this conclusion. If Mark is understood to be working within a framework of exclusive divinity, then Mark's Jesus is not divine. Furthermore, the category of divine identity appears to work to obscure Mark's intended scriptural referent, even for Hays' work with a specifically scriptural intertextual focus.

## §8.4 Inclusive Divinity

### *§8.4.1 An Outline of Inclusive Divinity*

For Paula Fredriksen, "Ancient monotheism spoke to the imagined architecture of the cosmos, not to its absolute population."[91] She argues that, "Multiple divine personalities are native to ancient monotheism."[92] For example, Fredriksen argues that Paul believes in the existence of

[90] Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 70.

[91] Paula Fredriksen, 'Mandatory Retirement: Ideas in the Study of Christian Origin Whose Time Has Come to Go', in *Israel's God and Rebecca's Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. D. Capes et al. (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2007), 35.

[92] Fredriksen, 'Mandatory Retirement', 37.

other gods, but that he simply does not believe they should be worshipped (citing 1 Cor 8:5-6; 15:24-27; 2 Cor 4:4; Gal 4:8-9; Phil 2:10).[93] For her, monotheism is a term that leads us "along the path of anachronism."[94]

A more mediating position is that taken up by Horbury, who argues that both exclusive and inclusive tendencies are observable in the "Herodian era."[95] As Hurtado argues, early Judaism's monotheism was generally marked by aniconic monolatry, beyond this, in terms of heavenly beings other than God, there seems to have been considerable flexibility.[96] For Horbury, the exclusive monotheistic tendency is linked to a transcendent view of God while the inclusive tendency served to resist an "absolute separation between the supreme deity and the cosmos."[97] For example, Gerhard Sellin writes of Philo: "Je transzendenter Gott gedacht wird, desto wichtiger wird der Logos. Der Logos ist die Größe, die ein letztes Auseinanderreißen von Gott und Welt verhindert."[98]

A complementary thesis is argued by Klaus Koch, that a diversity of mythologies for an enemy of God (e.g. Satan, Azazel, Belial) arise independently of each other in the

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[93] Fredriksen, 'Mandatory Retirement', 36–37. See also David A. Burnett, 'A Neglected Deuteronomic Scriptural Matrix for the Nature of the Resurrection Body in 1 Corinthians 15:39–42?', in *Scripture, Texts, and Tracings in 1 Corinthians*, ed. Linda L. Belleville and B. J. Oropeza, Scripture and Paul (Lanham, Md.: Lexington/Fortress, 2019), 197, 207 n27.

[94] Fredriksen, 'Mandatory Retirement', 38; see also remarks of Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period*, 217.

[95] Horbury, 'Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age', 43.

[96] Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 38; Hurtado, 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism'; Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period*, 219.

[97] Horbury, 'Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age', 31. See also Lang, 'Der monarchische Monotheismus und die Konstellation zweier Götter im Frühjudentum', 562; Martha Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 292; Erwin R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1935), 11.

[98] 'The more transcendent God is thought to be, the more important the Logos becomes. The Logos is the greatness that prevents an ultimate schism between God and the world.' Gerhard Sellin, 'Gotterkenntnis und Gotteserfahrung bei Philo von Alexandrien', in *Monotheismus und Christologie: Zur Gottesfrage in hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Hans-Josef Klauck, Quaestiones Disputatae 138 (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 22.

development of Jewish thought as an act of theodicy, a pious necessity, protecting the one God from direct responsibility for evil.[99]

A similar strategy is observable in Philo's treatment of Gen 1:26 (*Creation* 72-75; *Confusion* 179).[100] Noting the first person plural in Gen 1:26, "let us make man in our own image", Philo argues that God involved his συνεργός (*Creation* 75) or ὕπαρχος (*Confusion* 179) in the creation of humanity and in order to distance God from blame for human sinfulness. Here we see a sharing of God's prerogative as creator (an aspect of his divine identity) with other spirits for the sake of theodicy. Contrary to Bauckham, who considers this only a "minor qualification" to the typical Jewish denial that God had no assistants in creation (e.g. Isa 44:24; 2 Enoch 33:4),[101] this is a significant division of God's creational identity whereby responsibility for part of creation is given to another for theological purposes.

However, the presence of divine figures other than God may have generated theological difficulties even for Jews of an inclusive tendency. For example, Stuckenbruck argues that inclusive Jews were not insensitive to the logical problems of attributing attributes of God to

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[99] Klaus Koch, 'Monotheismus und Angelologie', in *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Martin A. Klopfenstein (Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 579.

[100] *Creation* 74-75, "Now it was most proper to God the universal Father to make these excellent things by himself alone, because of their kinship to him. To make those which are neither good nor bad was not alien to Him, since those too are free from vice which is hateful to Him. To make those of mixed nature was in one respect proper to Him, in another not so proper, so far as the better principle which forms an ingredient in them is concerned, alien, in virtue of the contrary and worse principle. So we see why it is only in the instance of man's creation that we are told by Moses that God said 'Let us make,' an expression which plainly shows the taking with Him of others as fellow workers. It is to the end that, when man orders his course aright, when his thoughts and deeds are blameless, God the universal Ruler may be owned as their Source; while others from the number of His subordinates are held responsible for thoughts and deeds of a contrary sort: for it could not be that the Father should be the cause of an evil thing to His offspring: and vice and vicious activities are an evil thing." Translation by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, *Philo I*, LCL (London: William Heinemann, 1949), 59–61; *Confusion* 179, "Thus it was meet and right that when man was formed, God should assign a share in the work to His lieutenants, as He does with the words 'let us make men,' that so man's right actions might be attributable to God, but his sins to others." F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, *Philo IV*, LCL (London: William Heinemann, 1949), 107–9.

[101] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 10 n12.

angelic figures.[102] He observes that wherever angels appear to be venerated there is also always an emphatic focus upon the pre-eminence of God (e.g. *T. Levi* 5:5-6; *Jos. Asen.* 15.11-12; Tob 11:14).[103]

It appears that other entities could have divine attributes within Jewish texts as long as it was clear that YHWH was still preeminent.[104] While depictions of angels or exalted humans as divine might create problems in the abstract, these could be mitigated at least for some Jews.[105] On the other hand, Hurtado proposes the analogy that "[t]he greater and more glorious the high king, the greater and more glorious his ministers," which might suggest that such exalted mediator figures could as easily contribute conceptually to the one god's transcendent superiority as diminish it.[106]

Inclusive divinity as described by Horbury also enables a move away from hard taxonomic categories of divinity (such as Bauckham's) and to reframe divinity within a prototypical category. Israel's God, the Most High God, King and Creator of All, is the primary and typical member of the category. Other divinities are less typical members of the category. They are considered divine, not because they share a set list of criteria with the prototypical member, but because they share some characteristics with the prototype and so may be considered stronger or weaker members of the category. In this category, apart from YHWH, who is the prototype, in descending order of similarity we find:[107]

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[102] Stuckenbruck, '"Angels" and "God"', 45.

[103] Stuckenbruck, '"Angels" and "God"', 69; see also Hurtado, 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism', 3.

[104] Hurtado, 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism', 23; Fredriksen, 'Mandatory Retirement', 37.

[105] "[A]pocalyptic cosmologies, which involved a belief in the existence and activities of heavenly beings other than God, are not, - indeed were not – necessarily perceived as antithetical to 'monotheistic' convictions." Wendy North and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 'Introduction', in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy North, JSNTSup 263 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 7.

[106] Hurtado, 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism', 23.

[107] The following list is adapted and expanded from James R. Davila, 'Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron: Introductory Reflections on Divine Mediators and the Origins of the Worship of Jesus', in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, ed. C. C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 4–6.

- YHWH's attributes: Wisdom/Sophia (Wis 7:25-26; 9:4-9),[108] Logos, [109] Glory.[110]
- Chief angels: Angel of the Lord, Michael, Gabriel, Satan, Belial.[111]
- Heavenly beings: Angels, sons of God, gods, Gentile deities (Deut 4:19), demons, celestial beings, sun moon, stars.[112]
- Exalted patriarchs: Enoch, Jacob, Moses (Exod 4:16; 7:1; Sir 45:2), Elijah.[113]
- Eschatological ideal figures: messiah, son of man, Melchizedek.[114]
- Kings (son of God/god) and priests (Sirach 50:1-11).[115]
- Charismatic prophets or royal claimants.[116]
- Israel (son of God; Pss Sol 17:27).[117]
- Humanity: image of God (Gen 1:27), gods (Pss 8:5; 82:1, 6).[118]

YHWH's hypostatic attributes are strong members of the category as they share many characteristics with God, and can be understood as aspects of the divine identity, "vivid

[108] Schroer, 'Die personifizierte Sophia im Buch der Weisheit'.

[109] Sellin, 'Gotterkenntnis und Gotteserfahrung bei Philo von Alexandrien'.

[110] Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 41–50.

[111] Koch, 'Monotheismus und Angelologie'; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 71–92.

[112] Stuckenbruck, 'Worship and Monotheism in the Ascension of Isaiah', 74–78; Horbury, 'Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age', 25–26.

[113] Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 51–70.

[114] Counet, 'The Divine Messiah', 39–42; Davila, 'Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron', 6; Daniel Boyarin, 'How Enoch Can Teach Us about Jesus', *Early Christianity* 2 (2011): 52–53.

[115] Adela Yarbro Collins and John J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 1–24; Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, 'Alexander the Great's Worship of the High Priest', in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy North, JSNTSup 263 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), *passim*; Margaret Barker, 'The High Priest and the Worship of Jesus', in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, ed. C. C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), kings: 94-96, priests: 98-16.

[116] Davila, 'Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron', 5; Counet, 'The Divine Messiah', 46.

[117] Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, 'The Worship of Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus', in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism*, ed. C. C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 112–28.

[118] Fletcher-Louis, '"Angels" and "God"', 72; idem, 'The Worship of Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus'; Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 18.

idioms" describing God's "activities and powers" rather than wholly independent entities.[119] Further down the "pyramid" Angels share God's spiritual nature and heavenly existence, as well as levels of power, but are more clearly creatures with an independent existence. At the bottom, ordinary human beings, on the other hand, share few obvious characteristics with God, but are made in God's image and so are in some sense divine (Wis 2:23; 4 Ezra 8:44; 2 Enoch 44:1-3; 65:2).

These sub-categories are not exclusive or discrete from each other. Enoch, for example is able to combine the sub-categories of exalted patriarch, eschatological Son of Man, and angel (1 Enoch 37-71).[120] Melchizedek is similarly able to combine angelic, eschatological, and godlike character traits (11Q13).[121] Wisdom can be portrayed as both an attribute of God and as an angel (Wis 9:9; 10:15-11:1) and the Logos can be understood as attribute of God, an angel, a man, and a messiah (Philo *Conf.* 41, 60-3, 146).[122] In Philo's discussion of the high priest (*Somn* II.230-31) the high priest becomes a divine man during the course of his duties but returns to a human state as he leaves the holy of holies.[123]

### *§8.4.2 Inclusive Divinity and Mark's Gospel*

Having outlined this inclusive category of divinity, we can state confidently that Mark's Jesus corresponds to a number of the sub-categories and possibly corresponds to others. Jesus is human. He at times appears to embody the new Israel. Jesus is presented as a royal figure. The typological exegesis above has demonstrated that Jesus is an exalted human figure surpassing Moses, David, Elisha and Jonah from the OT. Jesus is not explicitly presented in Mark as incarnated Logos or wisdom, but neither is there anything that prevents such an identification. Arguably Jesus is not an angel. He is never presented as such (excepting

[119] Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 37. See also Schroer, 'Die personifizierte Sophia im Buch der Weisheit', 557.

[120] Davila, 'Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron', 10–12; Boyarin, 'How Enoch Can Teach Us about Jesus', 67.

[121] Counet, 'The Divine Messiah', 39–40.

[122] Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, 17.

[123] Sellin, 'Gotterkenntnis und Gotteserfahrung bei Philo von Alexandrien', 29–30.

maybe 9:2-8).[124] Angels themselves only appear at the beginning and end of the Gospel, serving Jesus' ministry (Mark 1:13; 16:5), although they are set to play a more visible role in later events (Mark 8:38; 13:27). Jesus never suggests he has anything in common with the angels, and they are only ever present or spoken of in service to him. Finally, Jesus is clearly differentiated from the most high God, by being God's son, and by God's appearance in the narrative as a character separate to Jesus (Mark 1:11; 9:7).

Jesus' future claim that he will be seen "seated at the right hand of the power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark 14:62) also makes sense within this category. Jesus is promising to transition from an earthly messiah to a heavenly mediator – both in some sense divine, but fulfilling different functions in different contexts. All of Jesus' attributes, deeds, and prerogatives in Mark can be explained by correspondence with members of the inclusive divinity category other than the prototype, the supreme God. Although Mark's narrative rules out Jesus being identified directly with God, within the concept of inclusive divinity this does not ipso facto require denial of Jesus' divinity nor limit where on the inclusive divinity "pyramid" Jesus might be properly placed.

In Mark we have a transcendent God, who only speaks briefly from heaven, only twice, only in special locations, and to a very few individuals (1:11; 9:7). At the same time Mark presents Jesus as the herald and representative of God's kingdom and unparalleled bearer of God's power. Jesus mediates between heaven and earth.

Recognising the presence of inclusive monotheism within early Judaism goes some way towards explaining why there is little evidence that the early Christians' exalted claims regarding Jesus did not become immediately controversial within their Jewish context.[125] It may also answer why Jesus could act as God in the miracle accounts, without being immediately perceived to threaten Jewish monotheism, if he could be understood to be operating within a hierarchy of which he is not quite at the top.[126]

However, some significant questions remain unanswered.

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[124] Works on Angel Christology pay little attention to Mark and none to the miracles, see e.g. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*; Stuckenbruck, Loren T., *Angel Veneration and Christology*.

[125] Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 4; North and Stuckenbruck, 'Introduction', 3; Davila, 'Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron', 4.

[126] Counet, 'The Divine Messiah', 49.

First, with reference to the work of Larry Hurtado, the obvious question is: was Mark's Jesus to be worshipped? In Jewish aniconic monolatry, worship was reserved for the one true God. Can we detect any sign of the Christian "mutation" that led to a "binitarian shape" of worship?[127] Some of the detail of the Markan miracle narratives do seem to hint in this direction. The obeisance of the demons (5:6; 3:11), and the prostration of Jairus and of the woman in the crowd (5:22, 33), present Jesus as a figure of reverence and awe. Likewise, Jesus is the recipient and answerer of petitions (4:38; 5:10, 12, 23). However, all of these fall short of the kind of response that positions Jesus as a recipient of cultic worship.[128]

A second question is, can Jesus be placed more precisely within the "architecture of the cosmos"?[129] The argument of Hebrews 1-2 establishing that Jesus is superior to the angels shows that this sort of question could be asked and was possibly controversial. Sellin argues that Philo considered the Logos to be the highest state of being on the ontological pyramid, second only to God and in direct contact with God: "Logos sein ist also im Grunde nichts anderes als die Lokalisierung auf der höchsten erreichbaren Seins Ebene."[130] Mark's occasional references to angels (1:13; 8:38; 13:27; 16:5) suggest that Jesus is superior to them, but this is not made explicit. Jesus' transfiguration may also imply his status as a heavenly being. Certainly the divine voice of 1:11 and 9:7 implies that to be the Son of God is a relationship of particular closeness to God.[131]

The miracles however, present an earthly Jesus using God's power to respond to human needs, just as the scriptural prophets had before him. It is in the future that Jesus will have a heavenly location at the right hand of the power and coming with the clouds of heaven (ὄψεσθε, "you will see", Mark 14:62). Jesus' clear power and authority in the present, however, suggest that Jesus is already divine in a way that is beyond ordinary mortals or faithful Israel, and in the miracles, above the exemplars of the OT who performed miracles in God's name. If he is also served by the angels and looks forward to sitting at God's right hand in heaven, then Mark's Jesus appears not just exalted, but exalted above all other divine

[127] Cf. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 2.

[128] On this see Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 129–31.

[129] Expression from Fredriksen, 'Mandatory Retirement', 35.

[130] 'To be logos is basically nothing more than a localization on the highest attainable plane of being.' Sellin, 'Gotterkenntnis und Gotteserfahrung bei Philo von Alexandrien', 32.

[131] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 265.

beings except the one God. Thus Jesus appears to hold, or at least be destined to hold, a position very similar to Philo's Logos.

Third, if we posit an inclusive divinity a problem arises regarding the charges of blasphemy (2:7; 14:64), and anger at Jesus from the Jewish religious authorities (3:6). As Wrede writes, "The mere assertion of messiahship does not, according to Jewish ideas, amount to blasphemy."[132] Segal offers a more nuanced view: "if the rabbis heard and accepted the Christian story they might have regarded Jesus' crime as blasphemy, although it was not blasphemy in the name of God and hence could not carry the penalty of death."[133] Why should Jesus' claims have been considered blasphemous within the aniconic monolatry of early Judaism? The answer is likely a combination of several factors.

1) As Collins has shown, the strict technical sense of "blaspheme" in English is not inherent to any of the words in Hebrew (קלל, גדף, נאץ, חרף) or Greek (βλασφημέω) that it sometimes translates. Rather they carry a sense of insult, reproach, revile, or, in the case of קלל, curse, all of which can be applied equally to humans as to God.[134] Although a technical sense of the word is probably developing in the first century, it should not be assumed that a strict definition applies here (see point 4 below).

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[132] Wrede, *Messianic Secret*, 75; Wrede goes on to argue that

> if Mark understood "Son of God" in a supernatural and metaphysical sense, everything becomes quite clear. Jesus' claim would then be tantamount to an infringement of the divine honour—a blasphemous claim to equality with God . . . [Mark] is putting the term in the high priest's mouth with the sense it has for the evangelist's own Christian faith.

Wrede's suggestion is undermined here by my argument that Son of God alludes in Mark primarily to the Akedah and that an inclusive conception of divinity would mean that Son of God could be a claim to divinity without claiming equality with God.

[133] Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 95.

[134] Adela Yarbro Collins, 'The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14:64', in *The Trial and Death of Jesus: Essays on the Passion Narrative in Mark*, ed. Geert Van Oyen and Tom Shepherd, Contributions to Exegesis and Theology 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 151–56.

2) As Juel has argued at length, Jesus' prophetic position against the Temple, in both word and deed, would have been perceived as a sacrilegious attack by those still committed to the Temple.[135]

3) Likewise Jesus' defiance of Sabbath, food and other purity rules would have marked him to the religious authorities as an inappropriate candidate for divine favour and exaltation.

4) The Sadducees, who reportedly did not believe in the resurrection or post-mortem continuation of the spirit or soul (Mark 12:18; Acts 23:8;[136] Josephus, *J.W.* 2.8.13-14 §164-65), would not likely believe in the possibility of exalted human figures in heaven either. To them claims to be such would be blasphemous. Likewise, Josephus (*Ant.* 13.10.6 §294) indicates that the Sadducees had a broader definition of a blasphemy that required the death penalty than did the Pharisees. The NT seems to reflect such a wider view of blasphemy present among the Temple authorities (Matt 9:3; 26:64-66; Luke 5:21; John 8:59; 10:31-33; Acts 6:11; 7:55-58).[137] Thus Jesus' claim to future exaltation could be considered blasphemous in a way analogous to the blasphemies, as recounted by Philo, of Emperor Gaius (*Legat.* 44-46 §349) and an anonymous Roman governor of Egypt (*Somn.* 2.18 §125-32).[138] Concerning these texts Collins concludes, "Specifically, this insult involves a human

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[135] Juel, *Messiah and Temple*; also Collins, 'The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14:64', 167; E. Earle Ellis, 'Deity-Christology in Mark 14:58', in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 197–202.

[136] Daube makes a succinct and compelling argument that 'angels' in Acts 23:8 should be understood to refer to the post-mortem state of saints (cf. Acts 12:15), not to angels as they appear in the OT narratives. See, David Daube, 'On Acts 23: Sadducees and Angels', *JBL* 109 (1990): 493–97. A less compelling argument, that spirit and angel are both in apposition to resurrection and are thus two different varieties of belief in the resurrection, is made by Benedict T. Viviano and Justin Taylor, 'Sadducees, Angels, and Resurrection (Acts 23:8-9)', *JBL* 111 (1992): 496–98.

[137] Collins, 'The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14:64', 163–64, 169; Richard Bauckham, 'For What Offence Was James Put to Death?', in *James the Just & Christian Origins*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, NovTSup 98 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 223–25. See also 'Exkurs IX: Zur Frage der Geltung des mischnischen Strafrechts in der Zeit Jesu' in Josef Blinzler, *Der Prozess Jesu*, 4th Ed. (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1969), 216–29.

[138] Collins, 'The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14:64', 156–60.

being claiming a greater degree of authority and power than he has a right to do and, directly or indirectly, claiming divine status for himself."[139]

5) Bock makes the case that in addition to blasphemy against God, Jesus' promise to come in authority and judgement was a blasphemy against the Sanhedrin.[140] He argues that the language of "seeing", directed by Jesus to the Sanhedrin in Mark 14:62, evokes Jewish martyr texts (e.g Wis 5:2; Apoc Elijah 5:28), particularly 1 Enoch 62:3-5, which reads,

> On the day of judgment, all the kings, governors, the high officials, and landlords, *shall see* and recognize him—how he sits on the throne of his glory and righteousness is judged before him . . . they shall be terrified and dejected; and pain shall seize them when *they see* that Son of Man sitting on the throne of glory.[141]

Noting the three connecting themes of seeing, Son of Man, and sitting, Bock plausibly argues that, "[this] background means that Jesus challenges and warns his accusers that the real authority is not the Jewish council but Jesus, who will preside over them one day."[142]

6) It should be recognised there is a world of difference between speculation about the exaltation of long dead heroes from scriptural traditions and a present-day person, especially one not in favour with the establishment, claiming such for themselves.[143] Moses or Enoch, for example, were already revered and considered close to God and so they accumulated further traditions around their lives and heavenly existence. Bock compares Philo's scathing perception of the arrogance of pagan ruler cults (*Somn.* 2.130-31; *Decal.* 13-14, 61-64) to the trial of Jesus (Mark 14:53-65) and concludes, "How much more the council would have been offended by Jesus' remarks, made as they were by a Jew."[144]

Here we reach the nub of the issue. Inclusive divinity, while it may provide some precedent for early Christian beliefs about Jesus, does not provide a precedent for Mark's account of a

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[139] Collins, 'The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14:64', 164–65.

[140] Darrell Bock, 'Blasphemy and the Jewish Examination of Jesus', *BBR* 17 (2007): 83–84; see also Blinzler, *Der Prozess Jesu*, 158–59.

[141] Text, emphasis, and ellipsis is as given by Bock, but translation corresponds to Isaac, OTP, 1.43.

[142] Bock, 'Blasphemy and the Jewish Examination of Jesus', 84.

[143] Collins, 'The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14:64', 168; Darrell L. Bock, *Blasphemy and Exaltation: The Charge against Jesus in Mark 14:53-65* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2000), 202–3, 235–36; Bock, 'Blasphemy and the Jewish Examination of Jesus', 77. See also Segal *Two Powers in Heaven*, 95.

[144] Bock, 'Blasphemy and the Jewish Examination of Jesus', 78–79.

recently alive and religiously disruptive human figure claiming he would be exalted after his death and displaying divine authority and power in his own name in his own lifetime. Thus even within an inclusive divinity framework, Jesus' exalted claims could be considered blasphemous.

### *§8.4.3 Inclusive Divinity in Exegesis*

Kirk's book, *A Man Attested by God* (2016), is positioned against divine identity Christology.[145] He argues for "an alternative paradigm for assessing the Christology of the Synoptic Tradition," which recognises that in early Jewish literature God can share divine roles and humans can participate in the divine identity.[146] Kirk states that his exalted human Christology should be considered a "high" Christology "because humans can be depicted as the very embodiment of God, God's visible representative, God's voice, the exhibition of God's rule and majesty."[147] Likewise it can be considered a "divine" Christology because of humanity being made in God's image.[148] However, Kirk "restrict[s] the label 'divine Christology' to the position that sees Jesus as inherently constitutive of God, rather than contingently entailed in God through special creation or anointing."[149]

Thus Kirk's approach seeks to fit the synoptic Gospels within a framework of what I have termed inclusive divinity. In this framework, human beings are already, to a limited extent, divine, and can become or be made more divine in the right circumstances. It should be noted, however, that Kirk's approach specifically excludes angelic and pre-existent figures and so is not the only way that inclusive divinity could be applied to the Synoptics.[150] While Kirk analyses all three synoptic Gospels, our focus here is limited to his work on Mark.

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[145] See especially his critiques of recent High Christology proposals, Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 16–38.

[146] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 2.

[147] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 4.

[148] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 4.

[149] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 4.

[150] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 3.

Kirk's discussion of the Gospel of Mark concludes,

> I have tried to establish throughout that for Mark's Jesus the 'secret' of his identity is truly a messianic secret and not a divine secret. . . Jesus exorcises, heals, and rules the created order. The son of man is the Human One who exercises the wide-ranging rule originally envisioned for Adam and then David and Israel. The kingdom of God draws near when Jesus comes on the scene as the human king of the kingdom.[151]

### *§8.4.4 Kirk and Young's Early Jewish Paradigm of Water Miracles*

In §3.8.5 I briefly discussed and discounted Kirk and Young's view that Psalm 89:25 was a background text for Mark 4:35-41.[152] In summary, two fundamental problems with their thesis (and Kirk's expanded version of it) are that 1) that there is no indication that Mark connects Psalm 89:25 with the narrative of Mark 4:35-41, and 2) there is no evidence that Ps 89:25 was previously read as attributing miraculous power over water to the Davidic messiah. This raises the question as to why the Jonah 1 parallels were ignored in Kirk and Young's exegesis. Recognising a Jonah typology in this passage is also to recognise Jesus as an idealised (human) version of Jonah. The fact that Kirk did not use this suggests that his exegesis was influenced more by his paradigm than the Gospel text.[153]

Kirk and Young propose a category of Early Jewish Figures with authority over water, citing Moses, Joshua, and Theudas (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.97).[154] Later Kirk also includes Elijah and Elisha, the messiah in *Pesiq. Rab.* 36:1,[155] and Simon the High Priest (Sir 50:1-20).[156] The question remains as to whether Kirk and Young's paradigm (which is itself a sub category of Kirk's paradigm of idealised human figures) is sufficient to contain Jesus' water miracles. I would argue that if it is a legitimate methodological approach to assemble paradigms, then there is not one (as Kirk and Young propose) but two available paradigms: First, that of

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[151] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 574.

[152] J. R. Daniel Kirk and Stephen L. Young, "'I Will Set His Hand to the Sea': The Relevance of Ps 88:26 LXX to Debates about Christology in Mark," *JBL* 133 (2014): 333–40, 335. See also Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 90–92, 102–4, 434–42.

[153] Kirk gives no indication he is even aware of this possibility. But given its prevalence in the literature (see §3.7) this seems unlikely.

[154] Kirk and Young, 'I Will Set His Hand to the Sea', 337.

[155] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 436.

[156] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 125.

prophets parting water for people to walk across;[157] Second, that of Rabbis praying for rain (or waves).[158] The messiah in *Pesiq. Rab.* 36:1 and Simon the High Priest (Sir 50:1-20) do not fit into either of these paradigms because the first is not early Jewish (550-650 CE),[159] and neither describe a miracle being performed by a human.

The first paradigm is linked to a typological expectation of God's works and is not about an individual having power but about God repeating liberative events from history. They are always envisioned as climactic political moments and are anticipated in advance.

The second paradigm is that of holy men praying to God and then the elements respond, demonstrating that God has heard their prayer. There is no indication that the power resides in the individual. In fact the exact opposite is reinforced. As John Meier argues, these pious figures whose prayers are answered by God do not really parallel Jesus the "miracle-*worker, performing* miracles by his own power."[160]

Jesus' water miracles do not fit into the first paradigm because his miracles were spontaneous (ad hoc), private (only the disciples are present each time), apolitical (in contrast to e.g. a Sabbath healing, or the cursing of the fig tree), and (unlike the exorcisms) non-eschatological. The basic content of the miracle is also different. Jesus does not part the sea or the river and walk across on dry land as Moses and Joshua both did or as Theudas was hoping to do.

Jesus' miracles do not fit into the second paradigm because his miracles do not involve prayer and clearly portray Jesus as the source of power. It may be argued that these differences are a result of later embellishments reflecting different theological interests.[161] But as Mark tells the story, the paradigm does not fit.

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[157] This would include Moses (Exod 14), Joshua (Josh 3), and Elijah and Elisha (2 Kgs 2:8-14), as well as Theudas (*Ant.* 20:97-98).

[158] This would include Honi the circle drawer (m. Ta'an. 3:8; Ant. 14.2.1 §22-24), and his grandsons Abba Hilqiah (b. Ta'an 23a-23b) and Hanan ha-Nehba (b. Ta'an 23b), and Rabbi Gamaliel (b. Meṣi'a 59b). See Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 228–31; Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 140–41.

[159] Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies*, 241.

[160] Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2.356, emphasis original.

[161] Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries*, 225.

Rather, as I argued earlier, the form of Jesus' water miracles in Mark 4:35-41 and 6:45-52 correspond closely to Jonah 1 and Job 9, respectively. Having discounted Ps 89:25 as providing evidence of, or reason for, an early Jewish association of a Davidic messiah with the ability to control the sea in the way that Jesus does in his miracles, it can be asserted that in Mark's accounts of Jesus' water miracles Jesus is doing something that does not fit either Kirk's paradigm of early Jewish idealised figures nor the paradigm of contemporary Jewish holy men.

### *§8.4.5 A Royal Framework for Jesus' Exorcisms?*

Although Kirk does not focus specifically upon Mark 5:1-20, he does discuss exorcisms in general and specifically in Mark.[162] Kirk argues that a central function of the exorcism stories are to demonstrate Jesus' authority (cf. Mark 1:27).[163] Further, he states, "the ability to cast out demons per se is not an indication of any peculiar ontological status, but is indicative of possessing an authority or power of such a sort as human beings can exercise."[164] The Gospel of Mark also recognises that exorcisms could be performed by other people, without any suggestion they might be divine (e.g. Mark 6:7; 9:38).

However, Kirk then states, "power over demons fits easily within a royal framework in early Judaism."[165] Further, "In the case of David, it is a signal of his empowerment by the spirit; in the case of Solomon, it is an extension of his wisdom."[166] This paradigm is not a good fit for Jesus, however. In the case of David, both the biblical record (1 Sam 16:14-23) and the traditions that followed (e.g. 4Q510; 4Q511; 11Q5 xxvii.9-10; LAB 60:1-3), require the instrumental use of song. Even then, David's power over demons is limited.[167] Likewise, in the case of Solomon traditions (e.g. Jos. *Ant.* 8:47; *T. Sol.* 13), Jennifer Nyström has shown that it is "not probable that the contemporaries would have recognized a Solomonic exorcism technique when witnessing Jesus' exorcisms. . . the contemporaries, if knowing about the

[162] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 415–30, 421–25.

[163] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 415, 423.

[164] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 416, see also 425.

[165] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 416.

[166] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 417.

[167] Cf. LAB 60:3, "As long as David sang, the spirit spared Saul."

Solomonic technique, should have noticed that Jesus' exorcisms rather transcended the Solomonic in each of its components; no *tool* is used in the deed, no *incantation* is used among the words and no *name* (Solomon's) is invoked."[168]

In these David traditions, neither the name nor person of David have any effect on demons, nor even his possession of God's spirit, only his songs. Likewise, Solomon requires a magical ring (e.g. *T. Sol.* 1:6) and only once long dead does his name become powerful (Jos. *Ant.* 8:47). As Kirk notes, Jesus' disciples "do not have the authority simply because they are humans, but because they are acting in the name and with the authority of the idealized authoritative human."[169] What Kirk does not note is that there is no precedent for such an authority being given to a person without them first becoming a legendary figure.[170] And even in the case of Solomon, who does accrue such authority, his name alone is not enough to perform an exorcism but the correct technique and tools must also be used (Josephus, *Ant.* 8:47).[171]

When Herod hears of the disciples performing exorcisms and healing there are three possible interpretations offered: John the Baptist raised from the dead, Elijah, or a prophet like the prophets of old (Mark 6:14-15; cf. 8:28). For Kirk this demonstrates that performing exorcisms does not necessarily indicate divinity, because none of the interpretations suggests a divine identity but only human possibilities.[172] But it is not the fact of exorcisms that is the problem for Herod. It is that these exorcisms are *not* being attributed to various individual everyday healer-exorcists, but that all these things (despite also being performed by others) are being attributed to Jesus: "for his name had become known" (Mark 6:14).

This leads us to the significance of naming, observed earlier in Mark 5:1-20. The power of Jesus' name and identity as son of God was so great that Legion attempted to use it against Jesus (Mark 5:7). My exegesis agrees with Kirk that a royal David typology is at work behind the exorcisms. However, when Mark 5:1-20 is compared with the David story of 1 Sam 16-

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[168] Nyström, 'Jesus' Exorcistic Identity Reconsidered', 91, emphasis original; also Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 593.

[169] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 426.

[170] See discussion in §4 above.

[171] 'The power to exorcize belonged to the techniques, not to the exorcist.' So Bauckham, 'Markan Christology According to Richard Hays', 29.

[172] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 426.

17 a contrast appears. That is, that David relies on the name of the Lord while Jesus does not. Jesus' name is sufficient. This demands an interpretation of Jesus beyond the similarity with David to ask how he is also different from David. The typology of Mark 5:1-20 both points to David as the paradigmatic king (exorcist and conqueror), but also to the name that David invoked in conquering Goliath.

For Kirk it is enough that Jesus is an exorcist like David and Solomon, but Kirk does not reckon with the details of the accounts that suggest Jesus is something more. Kirk might argue that his paradigm is flexible enough to include other types of exorcism, but in that case the paradigm is arguably of little use in analysing Jesus' exorcisms because the paradigm is so vague and flexible.

### *§8.4.6 Mark 5:21-43: Jesus as Healer*

Kirk's treatment of healing miracles begins by discussing 1 Kgs 17:17-24 and Elijah's raising of the widow's son. He observes that,

> The culmination of the miracle story . . . is the affirmation of Elijah's identity by the woman: 'Now I know that you are a man of God, and that the word of YHWH is in your mouth is truth' (17:24). The ultimate healing miracle of raising the dead signals that God is, in fact, at work in and through the prophet who is God's agent.[173]

For Kirk, this story and that of the healing of Naaman (2 Kings 5) give a "common framework for how a Jew might understand a miracle-worker who was, at the same time, claiming to speak for God: a uniquely empowered prophet."[174] Although it can be questioned how far two stories from the books of Kings provide a "common framework," the basic argument seems fair enough. The problem is that Kirk has not noted that this response of recognition of a prophet (i.e. 1 Kgs 17:24; 2 Kgs 5:8) does not characterise any of the miracles in Mark. People in Mark's Gospel respond with fear, with amazement and with incomprehension (e.g. 4:41; 5:15, 20, 42) but they do not behave as if the healings they have witnessed fit neatly into a "common framework" that they already possess to categorise prophets or messiahs. Perhaps most significantly, Mark 5:21-43 does not echo either of the stories mentioned by Kirk, but rather draws on 2 Kgs 4:8-37 which ends, not with an acknowledgement of God, but with the supplicant worshipping at the prophet's feet.

[173] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 461.

[174] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 462.

Kirk also argues that 4Q521 "clearly anticipates that this eschatological [messianic] age will entail healing [and] resurrection . . . and may illustrate a messianic expectation wherein a human figure is God's agent in healing, resurrection, and feeding miracles."[175] The pertinent lines, are 4Q521 2.II.11-13:

> And the Lord will perform marvellous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id,] [for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the poor and […] … […] he will lead the […] … and enrich the hungry.[176]

Kirk admits that the subject of the healing in 4Q521, whether God or the messiah, is ambiguous. Grammatically the most straightforward reading is that the Lord of line 11 is the subject of line 12.[177] But following John Collins, Kirk argues that "the action of proclaiming good news is more likely to have a human subject than divine."[178] Collins' argument rests upon it being unlikely that God would be the one proclaiming good news (בשר) and citing 11Qmelch (13) II.15-16 where an anointed prophet proclaims (בשר) peace.[179] However, Grindheim notes that the *Hodayot* (4Q432 3.3; 1QH$^a$ X.6) clearly depicts God proclaiming (בשר) peace.[180] Given that God is depicted proclaiming in the *Hodayot*, there is little reason to go against the plain meaning of 4Q521 2.II.11-13. Moreover, as Lidija Novakovic argues,

> any conclusion regarding the function and the character of the Messiah in the end-time events described in 4Q521 is destined to be inconclusive because the text of this fragment neither ascribes the execution of these miracles directly to the Messiah nor, more fundamentally, clarifies the Messiah's identity in the first place.[181]

Grindheim also argues (citing Jub 23:26-30; 1 Enoch 96:3; 4 Ezra 8:52-54; 2 Bar 29:7) that the messiah was not expected to be a healer, and that this eschatological healing role was reserved for God.[182] Thus even if 4Q521 were taken to be "clear" in favour of Kirk's view,

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[175] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 462.

[176] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2.1045.

[177] John J. Collins, 'The Works of the Messiah', *DSD* 1 (1994): 99–100; Grindheim, *God's Equal*, 51.

[178] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 462, also 95, 117; see further Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 189–97.

[179] Collins, 'The Works of the Messiah', 100–101; Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 117.

[180] Grindheim, *God's Equal*, 51.

[181] Lidija Novakovic, '4Q521: The Works of the Messiah or the Signs of the Messianic Time?', in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 209–10.

[182] Grindheim, *God's Equal*, 50.

this would only be one text against the more general trend in the Jewish literature. A common Jewish paradigm can hardly be constructed on the basis of one text that is contradicted by several others.

As with the exorcisms, Kirk argues regarding the healings that, "If the human characters in the story can perform the same actions, then those actions are no indication that Jesus is God."[183] Again this is an imprecise analogy. Jesus' disciples heal, but they do so using a particular technique and the tool of oil (6:13). Moreover, they only do so after being given authority and instruction by Jesus (Mark 6:6-13). Additionally, the healings the disciples performed are attributed to Jesus' name (6:14).[184] One of the features noted in Mark 5:21-43 was the absence of any mention of God and of Jesus' apparent innate power. He performs the healings without recourse to technique, tool, or to the name of God. There is thus a qualitative difference between the healings of the disciples and of Jesus.

For Kirk, in Mark 6:1-6, "The focus on faith not only links this scene to the other healing miracles (2:5) and exorcisms (9:24), but also signals Jesus' ability to heal is not simply an innate, supernatural power, but is to some degree contingent on the disposition of the petitioner."[185] But without diminishing the role of faith in Mark's Gospel, Kirk's thesis is contradicted by other healings in Mark. For example, the healing of the withered hand in Mark 3:1-6 does not mention faith at all, and appears to be performed as an object lesson or test for the Pharisees. In Mark 9:24-27, Jesus heals despite the limited faith of the supplicant. In Mark 7:24-30 he performs an exorcism of someone who is not even there. Perhaps most pertinently, in Mark 6:1-6, where it states "he could do no deed of power there", even so Jesus did, "lay his hands on a few sick people and cured them." The lack of faith did not stop him healing. Like "all the people of Jerusalem" coming to see John the Baptist (Mark 1:5), "no deed of power" is Markan hyperbole (cf. Matt 13:58, οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις

[183] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 474.

[184] Rather than 'awkward' (Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 398) or 'artificial' (France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 252) the transition from Herod 'hearing of it' (ἤκουσεν), referring in present context 'to the activities of Jesus' disciples' (Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 392), to a discussion of Jesus, is perfectly natural as the action of the disciples would reflect upon their teacher. Their deeds done on his orders would accrue to his fame.

[185] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 473.

πολλὰς).[186] The relationship between faith and healing power is more complicated than Kirk makes out.

This is made apparent in Mark 5:21-43. The first supplicant, Jairus, does not receive the healing of his daughter but she dies (5:35). The second supplicant, the woman in the crowd, receives healing through the hem of Jesus' cloak (5:27-29), apparently without Jesus' knowledge or permission. While the woman is told "your faith has made you well" (5:34), the reader is in no doubt that the power did not come from the woman's faith but came out of Jesus (5:30). The woman's faith is in Jesus (5:28) and it is her appropriation of Jesus' power through his cloak that heals her. Recognising Mark's use of 2 Kings 4 in this narrative highlights the power of Jesus through the extension of his person in his clothing. It also sets up the comparison with Elisha, who was not able to communicate his power through his staff. Thus Jesus is more than a mere human agent of divine power like Elisha, but is himself a source of divine power.

Jesus exhorts Jairus, upon the news of his daughter's death, "do not fear, only believe" (5:36). We are not told whether Jairus fears or believes, or does both. What we do see is that regardless of Jairus' response to Jesus, when Jesus touches the girl and speaks to her, she rises from the dead (5:41-42). The emphasis in the story is not on Jairus' faith but on Jesus as the one who raises the dead.

[186] Alternatively, Rudolf Schnackenburg (*Jesus in the Gospels*, 29) argues that the healings in Mark 6:5 'apparently [do] not count as a special demonstration of power. In his deeds of power, Jesus, in Mark's view, goes beyond his healing activity and becomes an extraordinary miracle worker.' However, his interpretation goes against the grammar of the verse, which clearly denotes the healings as exceptions (εἰ μὴ) to the statement that 'he could do no deed of power there.'

Finally it might be noted that the lack of faith response in Jesus' hometown identifies Jesus as "the son of Mary" (6:3). They recognise him in terms of his human relationships alone, and so they do not come to him in faith to do works of power. As Jens Dechow puts it,

> Eine Verstehensmöglichkeit wird darin gesehen, daß die Nazarener Jesus in seinem Menschsein sehen, als Zimmermann und Glied seiner Familie, und daß sie darüber seine Gottessohnschaft und Hoheit nicht anzuerkennen bereit sind. Man könnte paraphrasieren: Dieser ist der Sohn der Maria – und nicht der Sohn Gottes. Der am Ende konstatierte Unglaube (V.6) ist dann der Unglaube bezüglich seiner hoheitlichen Person.[187]

Far from being proof of a human paradigm for Jesus' identity, it suggests that for Mark failure to recognise Jesus in relationship to God is to cut yourself off from Jesus' saving power.

The two-stage healing of Mark 8:22-26 is unique to Mark's Gospel. Kirk argues, "If the purpose of the healings is to lend their weight to a composite picture of Jesus in a proto-Chalcedonian sense, this story is entirely out of place."[188] There are various reasons why Mark includes healing stories throughout the Gospel and different stories serve different purposes in the narrative. Mark 8:22-26, like, for example, the story of Bartimaeus (10:46-52), functions primarily as an enacted parable of discipleship, while the spectacular miracles of Mark 4-6 are more Christologically focused. Kirk appears to assume that all healings must fulfil the same purpose in the narrative. Mark has made the point regarding Jesus' power clearly in an earlier sequence of miracles (Mark 4-6). Why should it be repeated in chapter 8 when the focus has moved on to the disciples and their comprehension?

Again, Kirk fails to show that there is a prior paradigm of messianic human healers. Even if there is such a paradigm, he has failed to show that Mark's miracles fit within it.

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[187] 'One possible understanding is seen in the fact that the Nazarenes see Jesus in his humanity as a carpenter and member of his family, and that they are unwilling to acknowledge his divine sonship and sovereignty. One could paraphrase: This is the son of Mary – and not the Son of God. The unbelief (V.6) stated at the end is then the unbelief concerning his sovereign person.' Dechow, *Gottessohn und Herrschaft Gottes*, 240.

[188] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 476.

### *§8.4.7 The Feeding Miracles as Messianic Banquets*

Kirk concludes, regarding the feeding miracle in Mark 6, that "what is unfolding is the life-giving banquet of the true king of Israel, in contrast to the death-feast of Herod the pretender."[189] For Kirk, the feeding miracles present Jesus as both a new David and new Moses.[190] Mark does not have in mind the "divine shepherd" of Psalm 23 and Ezek 34:11-16 but a "faithful human king [who] represents the divine shepherd through his tending of the flock (e.g. Ezek 34:23-24)."[191] As argued earlier, Psalm 23 does appear to have influenced Mark 6:30-45.[192] However, the issue at stake here is not a particular background text but whether Kirk's paradigm can explain the presentation of Jesus in the feeding miracles.

Kirk return to an argument from his discussions of Jesus' exorcisms and healings, that "if a human does the things that Jesus does, then Jesus's performance of such actions is no indication of ontological distinction. In Mark's Gospel, the disciples participate in the feeding."[193] He further explains, "Jesus does not reserve this miracle for himself as one indicating his unique divine authority or ontology, but instead extends the authority to his disciples as those capable of doing the same."[194] Again, however, the disciples' actions are not equivalent to Jesus'. The miracle is initiated, commanded and enacted by Jesus. The disciples only participate under Jesus' authority, not as autonomous powerful individuals.

Regarding 2 Kgs 4:42-44 Kirk states, "Jesus in the synoptic Gospels initiates the same type of miracle while amplifying its abundance to proportions befitting the eschatological advent of God's anointed."[195] His interest is in the type of miracle and his analysis stops there. However, as my exegesis has shown, while the similarities are important, and indeed signal Mark's intended subtext, the differences in detail are more important. The feeding miracles in the Gospels are indeed like the feeding miracles in Exodus and 2 Kings but which role is Jesus playing? Is he just playing the role of human prophet or does he also perform the role of

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[189] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 451.

[190] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 452.

[191] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 453.

[192] §6.8. See also Allison, 'Psalm 23 in Early Christianity'; Garland, *Mark*, 255–56.

[193] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 453.

[194] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 454.

[195] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 455–56.

YHWH? The paradigm provided by the scriptural miracle accounts reveals the profound difference between Jesus and those prophets.

### *§8.4.8 Mark's Jesus is Divine in an Inclusive Sense*

Mark's Jesus is divine when considered within an inclusive conception of divinity. However, Kirk's attempt to relate Jesus to a subcategory of inclusive divinity is not successful. If Mark's Jesus is identified within an inclusive conception of divinity the question needs to be asked as to how useful such a consideration is, if it does not relate him concretely somewhere on the "pyramid." The subcategories of inclusive divinity may provide models for different aspects of Jesus' presentation in Mark. However, none of them provides a model for Jesus' unique combination of these models. As Kirk writes, "the Gospels offer a unique combination of various abilities in one person, as well as a unique focus on such powers."[196] If Mark's presentation of Jesus is unique against the background of figures in early Jewish literature, and I would agree it is, then the validity of applying "paradigms" based on prior literature is undermined. Its very uniqueness precludes the ability to be neatly categorised in pre-existing paradigms.

## §8.5 The Role of "Ontology" in Christological Exegesis

Arguably, the exclusive and inclusive approaches to divinity are talking about different things. Bauckham terms these a binary versus a gradient view of reality.[197] In the binary view (exclusive divinity) an entity is either divine or not. The gradient view (inclusive divinity) recognises degrees of divinity and the ability to change degree. Importantly, most advocates of the idea of inclusive divinity would agree that the supreme God was considered to be ontologically different from all creation. Likewise, the exclusive view does not deny the existence of other heavenly beings that manifest some characteristics of the supreme God.[198]

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[196] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 487.

[197] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 109.

[198] E.g. Bauckham, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism', 210, 'The essential element in what I have called Jewish monotheism, the element that makes it a kind of monotheism, is not the denial of the existence of other "gods," but an understanding of the uniqueness of YHWH that puts

Contrary to Bauckham, then, these are not differing views of reality, but different aspects of the same reality, as it was understood by many early Jews.

Here, David Litwa's discussion of Philo's "onto-theology" makes a useful distinction:

> Philo may periodically modify and restrict his idea of graded divinity (by declaring that the extracosmic and primal God is the only God), yet he always slides back into what appears to have been the default philosophical and cultural presupposition of his day: generate beings in our cosmos can become participants in divinity. Admittedly, then, there is an unbridgeable gap in Philo's onto-theology—but it is the gap between Being and becoming, not between divinity and generate reality.[199]

There is a need then, for more precision in discussing early Jewish ontology. We should distinguish between, on the one hand, the binary, "extracosmic" *theo*-ontology which describes the metaphysical divide between God and all created or generate beings whether in earth or heaven; and on the other hand, a gradient, intracosmic *theio*-ontology,[200] which describes the relative degrees of divinity of created and generate beings.[201] The question, then, is to what extent the narrative of Mark's Gospel makes its ontology of Jesus available to us, whether binary, gradient or both?

For Bauckham, the assumption that other heavenly beings, angels, gentile gods, and the like, are considered divine in the way that YHWH is, is to commit an "etymological fallacy".[202] The fact that some things are called "gods", does not require that they are ontologically similar to YHWH, the one true God. He admits that the author of Deuteronomy may believe other gods exist. But in Deuteronomy's affirmations of YHWH's unique power and status its "theology is driving an ontological division through the midst of the old category 'gods' such

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him in a class of his own, a wholly different class from any other heavenly or supernatural beings, even if they are called "gods." I call this YHWH's transcendent uniqueness.'

[199] M. David Litwa, 'The Deification of Moses in Philo of Alexandria', *The Studia Philonica Annual* 26 (2014): 8.

[200] Cf. "θεῖος" BDAG, 446.

[201] Boring ('Markan Christology', 451) creates an 'ontological scale' (p451) soley from the Markan data, which is comparable in many ways to the gradient view of ontology. However, he then dismisses its validity for Mark's Christology: "Mark's Christology does not function by fitting Jesus into an ontological hierarchy" (p. 456).

[202] Bauckham, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism', 212.

that YHWH appears in a class of his own."[203] So although Bauckham wishes to use divine identity as a way to avoid the functional versus ontological discussion,[204] his understanding of monotheism still argues for an *ontological* distinction between YHWH and other divinities and requires ontological language.[205] In this way those using Bauckham's divine identity to argue for Jesus' ontological divinity are not out of line. Ontology is still the issue at stake because the divine identity ultimately entails a *theo*-ontological division. Yet Bauckham's description of God's divine identity is, perplexingly, given in terms of function: only God created and only God is universally sovereign. Presumably, although Bauckham does not to my knowledge state this in these terms, these functions imply ontological transcendence: one cannot be creator or universally sovereign without also being *theo*-ontologically God. If Jesus shares these functions then Jesus is also ontologically God.

Kirk's Christological analysis, one example of the inclusive divinity view, is explicitly concerned with Jesus' "ontology." He writes, "the concentration and diversity of miraculous powers attested of Jesus do not connote that he is something ontologically more than human."[206] Kirk finds nothing in the Synoptic Gospels that "means that Jesus is somehow being depicted as standing on the divine side of the creator-creation gulf, as being inherently ontologically distinct from his fellows."[207] It is clear that, like Bauckham, Kirk is concerned with ontology in the binary sense. A weakness of Kirk's study then, despite his concern to show Jesus as an exalted human figure, is that he does not discuss how early Jewish literature conceptualises gradient *theio*-ontology or how an exalted human figure might be considered ontologically different to their "fellows."

Tyson Putthoff's recent anthropological study of Jewish ontology demonstrates that early Jews sometimes did conceptualise ontology.[208] His approach analyses mystical texts and the assumptions that such texts reveal about the ontology of humans and God.[209] He argues that

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[203] Bauckham, 'Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism', 197.

[204] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 30.

[205] See also Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 108–9.

[206] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 487.

[207] Kirk, *A Man Attested by God*, 571.

[208] Tyson L. Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology: The Malleable Self and the Presence of God*, BRLJ 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2017); see also Himmelfarb, Between Temple and Torah, 283–93.

[209] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 19.

"ontology is a central element of early Jewish anthropology" and that "ideas on the malleability of the self pervade Jewish mystical writings."[210] As humans encounter divine space they can undergo physical changes to become angelic or godlike.[211] Among the texts Putthoff considers, *Joseph and Aseneth* and Philo are pertinent to this study.

In *Joseph and Aseneth*, Aseneth repents of her paganism and through ascetic practices is rewarded with transformation. Aseneth will be renewed (ἀνακαινίζω) re-formed (ἀναπλάσσω) and re-made-alive (ἀναζωοποιέω) and enjoy the food of life and drink the cup of immortality (ἀθανασία) and the anointing of incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία; Jos. Asen. 15:5).[212] In Jos. Asen.16:16 an angelic man from heaven declares Aseneth is now a "radically changed, immortal being, who serves as a mediator and protector to those who seek the Lord."[213] Putthoff suggests that Aseneth's wedding dress, which is like lightning (ἀστραπή, Jos. Asen. 18:5) is also part of her transformation.[214] However, this is not clear from the text which describes it as her finest robe taken from her own clothing-chest, giving it an earthly origin. More significant is her and her father's reaction to her transfigured visage (Jos. Asen. 18:9-11).[215] So Aseneth's spiritual transformation results in an ontological change which is communicated to the reader through the description of τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῆς ὡς ἑωσφόρος ἀνατέλλων, "her face as the sun and eyes as the morning star rising" (Jos. Asen. 18:9).[216]

As Aseneth becomes like the sun and stars, a similar understanding of human transformation may be implicit here as that found in Dan 12:3's description of the righteous.[217] Other texts

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[210] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 27; see also Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven: In Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 29–46.

[211] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 22–23.

[212] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 45–47.

[213] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 57. Also on the mediator figure, see ibid, 64.

[214] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 60.

[215] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 61.

[216] OTP, 2.232.

[217] Carol A. Newsom, *Daniel*, OTL (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 364; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 277.

which perhaps build on Daniel's imagery are 1 Enoch 39:5-7; 104:2-4; 2 Bar 51:5-12, where the transformed nature of the righteous as heavenly beings is clear.[218]

For early Jewish mystical literature such transformation is an intrinsic capacity of human beings.[219] For Philo (*Creation* 77) humanity already shares some kinship/relation to God, ὅτι τῆς αὐτοῦ συγγενείας, but God further gives them rationality, μεταδοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς λογικῆς.[220] Putthoff argues that for Philo the rational part of the human soul is of the same ontological substance as God (*Dreams* 1.34, "in man it is mind, a fragment of the deity," ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ νοῦς, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον ὤν).[221] It is not God, but because it comes from God it shares in God's divinity.[222] Divinity is thus conceived as a state that varies in degree. As a person performed mystical acts (in Philo's case, allegorical exegesis and philosophy) and encountered the divine they would themselves become ontologically more divine.[223] Philo describes the transformation through philosophy as one from mortality to immortality, "And from this philosophy took its rise, by which man, mortal though he is, is rendered immortal" (ὅθεν τὸ φιλοσοφίας ἀνεβλάστησε γένος, ὑφ' οὗ καίτοι θνητὸς ὢν ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθανατίζεται, *Creation* 77).[224]

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[218] Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah*, 287–88; David A. Burnett, '"So Shall Your Seed Be": Paul's Use of Genesis 15:5 in Romans 4:18 in Light of Early Jewish Deification Traditions', *JSPL* 5 (2015): 229.

[219] Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 277; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 71; Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 152–83.

[220] See further *Creation* 69, 134-35; *Planting* 17-20; *QG* 2.56; Litwa, 'The Deification of Moses in Philo of Alexandria', 10.

[221] Trans. Colson and Whitaker, *Philo I*, LCL, 61-62.

[222] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 76–77; Litwa, 'The Deification of Moses in Philo of Alexandria', 9.

[223] Putthoff, *Ontological Aspects of Early Jewish Anthropology*, 72.

[224] Trans. Colson and Whitaker, *Philo V*, LCL, 313. Bauckham ('Moses as "God" in Philo of Alexandria: A Precedent for Christology?', in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament & Christian Theology*, ed. I. Howard Marshall, Volker Rabens, and Cornelis Bennema [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012], 246–65) argues against deification in Philo by studying Philo's use of θεός. Bauckham finds θεός is only ever used of humans figuratively and not ontologically. His study is vitiated by only considering uses of the word θεός to describe deification, rather than considering the descriptions of transformation discussed here.

Regarding the NT, David Burnett has argued that we find assumptions of ontological change in Paul's letters. In Rom 4:18 he argues that the reference to Abraham's seed (Gen 15:5) as being like the stars is taken to be not simply quantitative but also qualitative. That is, Abraham's seed are to become like celestial beings.[225] He finds a similar interpretation is made explicitly in Philo,[226]

> Well does the text say "so" (οὕτως ἔσται) not "so many" (τοσοῦτον) that is, "of equal number to the stars." For He wishes to suggest not number merely, but a multitude of other things, such as tend to happiness perfect and complete. The "seed shall be" (οὕτως οὖν ἔσται), He says, as the ethereal sight spread out before him, celestial as that is, full of light unshadowed and pure as that is, for night is banished from heaven and darkness from ether. It shall be the very likeness of the stars. (Philo, *Heir* 86-87)

Elsewhere, Philo gives an interpretation of Gen 15:5 that suggests both a numerical and qualitative interpretation of "as the stars" (*QG* 4.181).[227] Burnett argues, "Philo seems to axiomatically employ the phrase 'so shall your seed be (οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου)' as though it were to be taken as a kind of adage that was intended to denote celestial immortality."[228] Burnett also notes how Sirach 44:21 in its apparent exegesis of Gen 22:17 sees "becoming as the stars" as a reference to exaltation (ἀνυψῶσαι).[229] Finally, he adduces the slightly later text, *Apoc. Abr.* 20:3-5 (first to second century CE),[230] where "Abraham's seed is promised not merely the number of the stars, but their power, which is understood in terms of the rule over nations and men, which seem to have been allotted to the Eternal Mighty One or to Azazel and his company."[231]

Burnett also discusses 1 Cor 15.[232] This is a disputed text, but whatever is specifically meant by Paul's categories of ψυχικός and πνευματικός bodies (15:44), he arguably expects a profound ontological change (ἀλλάσσω, 15:51) to occur for the believers at the

[225] Burnett, 'So Shall Your Seed Be', 213; cf. also Origen *Comm. Rom.* 4.6.7.

[226] Burnett, 'So Shall Your Seed Be', 215.

[227] Burnett, 'So Shall Your Seed Be', 216.

[228] Burnett, 'So Shall Your Seed Be', 216.

[229] Burnett, 'So Shall Your Seed Be', 216–17.

[230] Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies,* 37.

[231] Burnett, 'So Shall Your Seed Be', 219.

[232] Burnett, 'A Neglected Deuteronomic Scriptural Matrix', 200–203; Burnett, 'So Shall Your Seed Be', 225, n27.

resurrection.[233] What is sown perishable and mortal will be raised incorruptible and immortal, σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσία (1 Cor 15:42). We will no longer resemble Adam but Christ (1 Cor 15:49). We will cease to be earthly (ἐπίγειος) bodies but become heavenly (ἐπουράνιος) bodies (15:40). Arguably, with the understanding of Rom 4:18 above, the references to heavenly bodies in 1 Cor 15:41 are not incidental but indicative of the believers' transformed post-resurrection celestial ontology.

It appears, then, that at least some Jews considered that exaltation also changed a human's ontology. In other words, an exalted person ceased to be human, mortal and earthly and became immortal and heavenly. This recognition immediately problematises the approach of both Bauckham and Kirk. They analyse Mark according to a binary ontology, in contrast to the fluid gradient ontology observable in *Joseph and Aseneth*, Philo and Paul.

Many of the figures included in Kirk's paradigm of idealized human figures were probably not considered ontologically human in their exalted state – if their ontology was considered at all, which is by no means certain. Thus in the few examples of Jewish discussion of ontology that we have access to, it is not clear how an exalted human could be said to differ ontologically from another divine being. Exaltation is effectively divinisation, understood within an inclusive, gradient sense: Aseneth became an angelic mediator, Moses became the Logos, and the faithful Christ-believers will become like the stars in heaven.

On the other hand, Bauckham's divine identity could be modified here to make better sense in this context. That is, if a pre-existent being which shared in the divine identity were to assume human form, there would need be nothing ontologically divine about them when they

[233] Burnett, 'A Neglected Deuteronomic Scriptural Matrix', 200; Dale Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 123; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, 'Complete and Incomplete Transformation in Paul - a Philosophical Reading of Paul on Body and Spirit', in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*, ed. Turid Karlsen Seim and Jorunn Økland, vol. 1, Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (New York, N.Y.: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 125; Birger Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A Study in the Terminology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul and Its Relation to Gnosticism* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 23–25; Robert H. Gundry, *Soma in Biblical Theology: With Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology*, SNTSMS 29 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 164; James D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 61.

have taken on humanity. The continuity between the pre-existent divinity and the human person would be one of identity not *theio*-ontology. This is because Jewish thought could conceive of ontological change occurring to human and divine persons. But if this same pre-existent divinity was *theo*-ontologically God, this would not change by them becoming human because that ontological distinction is to do with the creator-creation divide, not any particular form.

In Mark's miracles there are no visible indications of ontological divinity, with the possible exception of the transfiguration in Mark 9:2-7. Wrede comments, "To be sure the story of the transfiguration does show . . . the glory or majesty of Jesus; this is, something supramundane which has no place in the earthly life of Jesus."[234] Given the preceding discussion of ontology it should be noted that Mark 9:2 is the only instance where Jesus appears to give any signals as to a divine *theio*-ontology. But, its temporary nature implies it does not represent an ongoing ontological state.[235] It also highlights the lack of ontological signals in the rest of the Gospel. Jesus' transfiguration does conform to several aspects of the ontological transformations discussed above, but unlike that in *Joseph and Asenath*, Philo and Paul, Jesus' change is not given any commentary in the text. As discussed in the previous chapter,[236] the lack of description of an agent enrobing Jesus (9:2-3) may suggest an inherent state or ability of Jesus being revealed rather than being temporarily given. In my view, this is the point in Mark's Gospel most inviting of an incarnational interpretation. Yet it must be recognised that it is only one possible implication and it is far from certain.

It must be concluded, then, that the Gospel of Mark does not show interest in presenting Jesus either in terms of a binary *theo*-ontology, as being on God's side of the creator-creation gulf, or, in regard to Jesus' earthly ministry, in terms of a gradient *theio*-ontology.[237] As Boring

[234] Wrede, *Messianic Secret*, 68.

[235] Again, comparison with Moses is illuminating. In Exod 34:29-35 it appears that Moses' shining face is permanent and Moses has to wear a veil whenever he is not talking to God, in order not to frighten the Israelites. Jesus' dazzling clothes, however, do not appear to continue beyond Mark 9:7, when in 9:8 there is an implied return to normality, and Jesus' appearance is not commented on again.

[236] §7.2.2. above.

[237] Jesus' exaltation as the Son of Man (8:38; 13:26-27; 14:62) is a different matter, but relates within the narrative to Jesus' future rather than present.

argues, "Mark's Christology does not function by positing a category of the 'divine' and then asking if or how Jesus fits into it."[238]

## §8.6 The Human Christ and the Limits of Exclusive and Inclusive Divinity

I have argued that the category of exclusive divinity, "divine identity", is not applicable to Mark's Jesus. On the other hand, while the category of inclusive divinity certainly fits Mark's presentation of Jesus, it does so because it can fit any manifestation of divinity that does not compromise the ultimate supremacy of Israel's God.

Both Bauckham's divine identity and Kirk's idealised human figure are paradigmatic categories constructed from an inductive study of Jewish literature. The paradigms are then applied deductively to the New Testament texts in order to categorise the presentation of Jesus therein. A significant weakness to both approaches then, is the assumption that a category inductively developed from early Jewish texts is necessarily applicable to any given New Testament text. They posit a category and then ask if Mark's Jesus fits within it.

However, as well as kinship between early Christian and early Jewish thought, the contrasts should also be examined.[239] We must look not just for continuity but also novelty. Kee argues that Mark self-consciously pits the Gospel's Jesus against the preformed categories of Judaism and that Mark's narrative demands the reassessment of traditional Jewish terms and expectations in the light of Jesus' story.[240] As Hengel warns,

> [W]e must remember that what happened cannot just have been a simple reproduction of earlier Jewish speculations about hypostases and mediators. Earliest Christology has a quite original stamp, and is ultimately rooted in the contingent events of the activity of Jesus, his death and resurrection appearances. A history-of-religions comparison can only explain the derivation of individual themes, traditions, phrases and functions, and not the phenomenon of the origin of Christology as a whole. At the same time we must also consider the possibility of 'unparalleled' innovation.[241]

Bauckham also critiques approaches that assume early Jews worked by "transferring models from one heavenly or eschatological figure to another," and argues that Jewish theology

[238] Boring, 'Markan Christology', 458.

[239] Sandmel, 'Parallelomania', 4–5.

[240] Kee, 'Christology in Mark's Gospel', 200, 205–6.

[241] Hengel, *The Son of God,* 58–59; see also Bayer, *Das Evangelium nach Markus,* 80.

proceeded by exegesis of scripture.[242] However, his highly conceptual divine identity approach using "a free-floating set of categories concerning God's relation to all existence" becomes suspect for the same reasons.[243] By using a paradigm derived from Jewish texts to analyse Mark, assumptions are being made about Mark's conceptualisation of divinity, ontology, and theological consistency with the paradigm, prejudging the possibility of novelty.

France argues that one fundamental difference between Christian and Jewish exegesis was the belief that scripture had been fulfilled in the recent past, i.e. the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, and not only the distant past or future.[244] The earlier discussion of blasphemy has already touched on this point. It is one thing to speculate about the heavenly journeys of Moses or Enoch and quite another to do so about the fate of a near contemporary doctrinally controversial figure who died a shameful death at the hands of the Romans. Moreover, Jesus' assimilation to God does not wait for a heavenly journey or a post-mortem exaltation. In his earthly human life we are shown him already acting as if divine.

As if he were the creator God, Jesus commands the wind and waves and they obey (Mark 4:35-41). As if he were Israel's Lord, Jesus is shown to be the one in whose name the armies of Satan are overcome (Mark 5:1-20). As if he were God, Jesus heals in his own power and without prayer (Mark 5:21-43). As if he were Israel's Lord, Jesus feeds Israel and the Gentiles with miracle bread in the wilderness (Mark 6:30-45; 8:1-10). As if he were YHWH, Jesus walks upon the sea as if walking on dry land (Mark 6:45-52). Yet, apart from possibly Mark 9:2, *Mark's Jesus is portrayed as ontologically human throughout.*

[242] Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, 175.

[243] Tilling, *Paul's Divine Christology*, 61.

[244] R. T. France, 'Jewish Historiography, Midrash, and the Gospels', in *Studies in Midrash and Historiography*, ed. R. T. France and David Wenham, Gospel Perspectives, III (London: Bloomsbury, 1981), 123–24.

Patrick Counet observes:

> Still there is a clear difference between, on the one hand, the categories of beings that were deified as pointed out by Hurtado and Davila, and on the other hand, Jesus of Nazareth. The deified and glorified beings from early Judaism are beings in which God is so explicitly present that their own identity falls away. They represent God *not* as individual persons, but in their professional or mythical appearance. . . The venerators do not see this or that high-priest nor that prophet, they see God represented in them. . . [Jesus of Nazareth], he remains . . . a man with a human face and a personal history . . . .The authors of the New Testament have never spirited off Jesus' humanity.[245]

Unfortunately, Counet's essay is rather cursory and does not really establish his conclusions. However, Sellin comes to a similar conclusion in his study of Philo's Logos:

> Fast alle neutestamentlichen christologischen Entwürfe aber gehen in zwei Punkten über die Logos-Konzeption Philos hinaus: 1. durch ihre Konzentration auf eine historische Person – wobei das Ereignis der Logos-Offenbarung als solches gar nicht oder nur noch in abgeleiteter Form wiederholbar wird – und 2. durch den Aspekt des Leidens und Sterbens (neben der Passionsgeschichte in Mk vor allem in Hebr 5,1-10 und Phil 2,6 ff). Beide Unterschiede lassen sich konfundieren in dem einen: Der philonische Logos-Mensch, der ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ ist – jedenfalls im Zustand seiner Logos-Existenz – kein Mensch mehr. Christus aber ist gerade als Mensch das Antlitz Gottes.[246]

I would tentatively argue then, that it is not Jesus' divinity that defies convention, but his assimilation to God while remaining *theio*-ontologically human. Arguably, Kirk's exegesis could only uncover the human side of the miracles, while Hays, following a divine identity paradigm, is only able to uncover the divine side. Typological exegesis, however, has exposed in the miracle narratives the feature of NT Christology indicated by Counet and Sellin: in Jesus' particular and historical human life and actions he personifies God. That is, without *theio*-ontological change from human to divine, he nonetheless functions as God – not simply on behalf of God.

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[245] Counet, 'The Divine Messiah', 51–52.

[246] 'Almost all New Testament Christological frameworks, however, go beyond Philo's conception of Logos in two ways: 1. Through concentration on a single historical person – whereby the event of the Logos revelation as such does not become repeatable at all or only in a derivative form – and 2. through the aspect of suffering and dying (especially in Hebrews 5: 1-10 and Phil 2,6 ff, in addition to the Passion story in Mark ). Both differences consist in one thing: Philo's Logos-man, the ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ is – at least in the state of his Logos existence – no longer a human being. But Christ, precisely as a human being, is the face of God.' Sellin, 'Gotterkenntnis und Gotteserfahrung bei Philo von Alexandrien', 36.

In my view, the best solution that has been offered as to how Jesus could be so identified with the God of Israel without compromising the Jewish idea of God's uniqueness is to see Jesus as his authorised representative, a mediator between the divine and human, who brings God's rule, authority and power to earth while God continues to reign over heaven and earth from heaven. What makes Jesus different from an ideal king, such as David, is that his rule on behalf of God and his representation of God is eschatological, universal and eternal, rather than historical, partial, and temporary.

This idea is brought out by Marcus in his study on the *Shema* in Mark.[247] There he argues that Zech 14:9 provides an interpretation of the *Shema* that considers the oneness of YHWH and his name to be made eschatologically manifest through his rule over the earth. Mark's uses of the word εἷς, instead of μόνος, in discussions of God's prerogative to forgive sins (2:7) and unique goodness (10:18) are strong hints that it is Jesus who manifests the forgiveness and goodness of the one God on earth.

A parallel idea is also arguably present in Mark 12:1-12. In that parable the "only son" is both a type of the slaves, being sent to Israel and suffering abuse at the hands of the wicked tenants, but also a type of the father, his own flesh and blood. The "son" of the parable is a more authoritative and complete representative of the father because, while he performs the same function as the slaves, he more perfectly fulfils the role because he more completely manifests the father's image and authority.

Typological exegesis has revealed the same dynamic at work in Mark's miracle accounts, whereby Jesus is a type of both the servants and the father, the antitype of the prophets and typologically assimilated to the God of Israel. Although questions of pre-existence and divine (both *theo-* and *theio-*) ontology are underdetermined, we can discern a sophisticated theological agenda, whereby Mark portrays Jesus as the one God's unique and final human representative on earth. From the point of view of Mark's Christology, questions of pre-existence, divine identity, or ontology are immaterial. Mark's Christology is exegetical not philosophical, typological not ontological.

[247] Joel Marcus, 'Authority to Forgive Sins upon the Earth: The Shema in the Gospel of Mark', in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 196–211.

## §8.7 Conclusion

Mark does not write to present a "systematic" Christology, at least not using credal categories. As Joseph Ernst puts it, "Die Christologie des [Markusevangeliums] sperrt sich gegen vorschnelle Systematisierungen."[248] In this sense Mark's narrative resembles the Jewish scriptures that he has incorporated into it.[249] Horsley's dictum concerning magic and miracle, applies equally to Christology: "An important consideration in using the sources, then, is to discern interpretive concepts and language appropriate to the sources in their historical, cultural context."[250]

Yet debates around Jesus' pre-existence and his divine or human nature as he is presented in the earliest Gospel persist. Because these debates use categories which are alien to Mark's text they will likely continue as they are essentially unresolvable. Here I have argued that both exclusive and inclusive approaches to divinity tend to obscure Mark's text through the imposition of abstract conceptual categories. Rather, by restricting ourselves to the categories and terms that emerge from Mark's typological presentation of Jesus we can arrive at a robust Markan Christology, identifying Jesus as God's final and most complete representative, a suffering human of the recent past who nonetheless manifests the God of Israel in a manner unprecedented and unparalleled in early Jewish literature.

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[248] "The Christology of Mark's Gospel closes itself off against rash systematisations." Joseph Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, RNT (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1981), 44.

[249] "In short, where didacticism would insist on subordination, one encounters proliferation; where the discourse should move in a straight line, it weaves a net; where propositions should readily follow from premises, the premises themselves often remain ambiguous or double-edged and the propositions become multiple; where transparence is expected, we have to struggle with opacity on all levels, from word to world to thought. Far from falling under some thesis detachable from its illustration, therefore, the narrative structure renders any such detachment an act of violence." Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1985), 38.

[250] Horsley, *Jesus and Magic*, 21.

## §9 Conclusion: Typology in Mark 4:35-6:45

> ἴδε πάλιν Ἰησοῦς, οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. (*Barn.* 12:10)

### §9.1 Summary

This thesis has argued that in the miracles of Mark 4-6 there is evidence of a deliberate reference to corresponding narratives in the Jewish scriptures (§§3-6). These references are analogical in nature, and I have described them as a literary typology which reveals underlying real typological correspondences. Such a typology is not an anachronistic imposition of later Christian exegetical practice but is consistent with an early Jewish context as represented by, for example, LAB, Josephus, and 1 Maccabees.[1] Evidence for these typologies is not restricted to narrative and thematic motifs but is also indicated by key words and phrases which are distinctive in both their NT and Jewish scriptural contexts. There appears to be a clear pattern across this catena of miracles.

The stilling of the storm in Mark 4:35-41 (§3) has often been interpreted with Psalm 107:23-32 as background. However, when examined thematically and lexically the links between the two are extremely tenuous. Rather the storm stilling in Jonah 1 provides many distinctive narrative parallels, lexical links and meaningful thematic connection and inversions. Jesus is thus portrayed as a new and greater Jonah, a prophet who falls asleep on a boat in a storm, but who is obedient to God. That the allusion is intentional is signalled by the presence of the distinctive phrase ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν (Jonah 1:10, 16; Mark 4:41) which only occurs in Jonah 1 in the LXX and only here in Mark. Importantly this expression serves to highlight Jesus' enactment of God's role in the Jonah story. It describes the mariners' reaction to YHWH's power in Jonah 1 and the disciples' reaction to Jesus in Mark 4. So in Mark's account Jesus appears to enact the parts of both Jonah and YHWH.

The story of the Gerasene demoniac in Mark 5:1-20 (§4) has often been interpreted with LXX Isaiah 65:3-5 as background. However, this requires two things. First, it requires an atomistic reading of the LXX passage which states that demons do not exist. Second it imposes the theme of idolatry onto Mark 5:1-20. This theme is wholly absent from Mark otherwise and is not indicated in the text of 5:1-20 except through the ostensible allusion to

[1] See §2 above.

Isaiah 65. Instead, I have argued that this Markan account has some narrative parallels, lexical links and thematic connections with the only scriptural account of an exorcism, that of David delivering Saul (1 Sam 16). Further, the allusion appears to have conflated 1 Sam 16 with the adjacent story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17-18). This provides more significant parallels between Mark 5:1-20 and 1 Samuel as well as accounting for a number of peculiar features of the Markan text, not least the extended description of the demoniac. Here, a deliberate allusion is signalled by the rare word πνίγω, which occurs twice in LXX 1 Sam 16:14 and nowhere else in the LXX. The conflation of evil spirit and giant stories from 1 Samuel is rendered more probable due to the Watchers mythology evident in a number of Jewish and Christian texts, not least 1 Enoch 1-31. I draw on a number of recent studies which connect the Watchers mythology to the story of the Gerasene demoniac in Mark. Finally, as in the Jonah typology, here the prominence of the name of YHWH in David's encounter with Goliath gives increased significance to the dialogue between Jesus and "Legion", where Legion attempts to adjure Jesus by God but Jesus defeats him without any invocation of God, but in his own intrinsic authority. Thus in Mark's account Jesus appears to enact the parts of both David (exorcist and giant slayer) and of YHWH, the one in whose name the battle is won.

The double story of the healing of Jairus' daughter and the woman in the crowd in Mark 5:21-43 (§5) has generally been neglected in terms of its scriptural background, despite some leading remarks about Elijah and Elisha by Pesch.[2] I have argued that the story of Elisha's resuscitation miracle in 2 Kings 4:18-37 is alluded to throughout Mark's double miracle account. Not only do these stories have many narrative parallels, lexical links and thematic connections between each other, but positing this scriptural background also explains Mark's intercalation of the two miracle accounts of Jesus. Again I have argued that a distinctive phrase connects the Gospel text and its scriptural referent and is indicative of an intentional allusion. Mark 5:42, ἐξέστησαν [εὐθὺς] ἐκστάσει μεγάλη is unique in the NT. 2 Kings 4:13, ἐξέστησας ἡμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν ἔκστασιν, is highly distinctive and unique in this usage in the LXX. Finally comparing these miracle accounts highlights the absence of prayer in Jesus' healing and Mark's portrayal of Jesus as a source of divine power. Jesus is a type of Elisha in Mark 5:21-43 but also someone unlike Elisha, who required prayer to perform miracles.

[2] Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1.308-313.

Rather, Jesus is himself the source of divine power in Mark's miracles and the recipient of people's petitions. Mark portrays Jesus as both prophet and divine power.

The feeding miracle of Mark 6:30-44 and its double in Mark 8:1-10 (§6) have generally had their scriptural background recognised as some combination of the Exodus wilderness feeding narratives, the Shepherd motif (Psalm 23), and Elisha's feeding of the prophets (2 Kings 4:42-44). I discuss these scriptural themes and demonstrate their allusive presence in the Markan text. However, I also argued that some important exegetical data has been consistently overlooked, in particular the highly awkward and distinctive use of the NT hapax πρασιά in Mark 6:40 (twice) and how this connects to the wilderness feeding in Numbers 11 (πράσα, LXX Num 11:5, a LXX hapax). Once the connection with Numbers 11 is established, contrasting the narratives reveals that the disciples play the role of Moses and Jesus, as the one who gives bread in the wilderness, is cast in the narrative role of YHWH.

| Gospel Miracle | Corresponding Scriptural Narrative | Key Word(s) |
|---|---|---|
| Mark 4:35-41 | Jonah 1 | ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν |
| Mark 5:1-20 | 1 Sam 16-18 | πνίγω |
| Mark 5:21-43 | 2 Kings 4:18-37 | ἐξέστησαν ἐκστάσει μεγάλη, εἰρήνη |
| Mark 6:30-45<br>(Mark 8:1-8) | Numbers 11<br>(2 Kings 4:42-44; Josh 9:1-15) | πρασιά/ πράσα<br>(παρατίθημι, μακρόθεν ἥκω) |

These typologies served to identify Jesus with human figures from the Jewish scriptures in an eschatological fulfilment typology. The same literary typologies also identified him with the acts of Israel's God in those same scriptural stories. This revealed a Christological agenda of assimilating Jesus to the God of Israel, which I termed a theomorphic typology.

It was not my contention that such a typological approach, as outlined in those four miracle accounts above, was used in all of Mark's miracle accounts. Indeed, at different points in the Gospel Mark's miracles serve different functions within the narrative. However, I did argue that the typological approach and Christology discerned in the miracles of Mark 4:35-6:45 is entirely consistent with Mark's use of typology elsewhere in the Gospel (§7). This was demonstrated by a survey of the three Christological high points that structure the whole Gospel, the baptism, transfiguration and passion of Jesus. Throughout all three there was an evident allusion to the binding of Isaac. The evocation of this scripture through the imagery

of "beloved son" and the voice from heaven served to relate "son of God" language in Mark to Jesus' atoning sacrifice rather than his divinity *per se*. Additionally many other typological allusions were discussed, the most extended of which was Jesus' typological portrayal as David within the passion account. This typology utilised a number of specific mentions of David, frequent references to the Davidic prophecy of Zechariah 9-14, some narrative assimilation to David, several quotations of Davidic psalms, and a strong royal theme throughout the passion, in particular the crucifixion. Theomorphic typology was not as much in evidence as in the earlier exegesis. However, Mark's portrayal of Jesus as the judge of Jerusalem, and the use of prophetic texts, especially those from Hosea and Jeremiah, portrayed Jesus both in the mould of a scriptural human character, i.e., Jeremiah prophesying to the worshippers in the Temple, and also taking on the role of YHWH from the same scripture. This is a typology derived from prophetic, rather than narrative, texts, but still evokes a scriptural narrative. Interestingly this typology also occurs in a miracle account, the cursing of the fig tree (Mark 11:12-25). Thus I concluded that while the four miracles which I discussed are distinctive in their use of fulfilment and theomorphic typology, that typology and its Christology is not inconsistent with the rest of the Gospel but is a distinctive sample of a wider Markan interest in typology.

Finally, in a Christological chapter I engaged recent scholarship which had adduced Mark's miracles towards arguments for pre-existence, divine identity, or exalted human figures. While I concluded that Mark's Gospel does not have any interest in pre-existence itself, I did argue that the logic underpinning Mark's typology makes the development of some form of pre-existence likely, if not necessary. In a more detailed treatment I argued that current approaches to analysing Mark's Christology through paradigms of divine identity (Bauckham, Hays) or idealised human figures (Kirk) tended to obscure Mark's scriptural allusions and force inappropriate categories onto Markan Christology. In part these arguments also obscured assumptions about early Jewish conceptions of divinity and how these might be evident in a text. I argued that exclusive and inclusive approaches to divinity should not be dichotomised, but be understood as different aspects of divinity within an early Jewish worldview. Nonetheless, I concluded that Mark's Christology is novel in respect to any paradigm that could be constructed from Jewish predecessors and that it should be considered on its own terms rather than by using categories of pre-existence or divine ontology which Mark simply does not address. Mark's Christology is thus more divine than advocates of a human Christology allow, but also not concerned with issues of pre-existence or

divine/human ontology (whether *theo-* or *theio*-ontology). Mark understands Jesus' divinity in a way that Jewish precursor texts have not entirely prepared us for.

## §9.2 Prospects

There are a number of lines of enquiry opened up by this study that may be fruitful for further research.

One likely reason why Mark's awkward terminology (e.g. πνίγω, πρασιά) in these miracle accounts has not been fully investigated previously is the assumption that such awkwardness arose from Mark's "inelegant" Greek. However, someone with limited Greek would be expected to use simpler, more common language. Mark's more unusual word choices have been shown here to be deliberate indicators of scriptural parallels. This raises the question as to how many other of Mark's lexical clues have been overlooked as a product of poor Greek rather than recognised as an authorial strategy of scriptural allusion?

If my argument that Mark's miracles contain scriptural typology is accepted, then these narratives become a further source for early Christian scriptural exegesis and should be included in studies of Mark's use of the Jewish scriptures. Further research may reveal that other Markan miracles have as yet unnoticed scriptural references.

Recognising Mark's typological use of scripture raises the question of why Matthew and Luke tend to edit away from Mark's typology? Were they unaware of it or did they deliberately reduce it? To what extent do Matthew and Luke superimpose their own Christologies in their version of the miracles? In what way do they find Mark's miracle typology inadequate or unhelpful? Do the findings of this study now suggest that, from the point of view of the miracle accounts, Mark's Christology is higher (assimilates Jesus to God to a greater extent) than that of Matthew and Luke? One indicator of this is the transfiguration narratives, where both Matt and Luke enhance Jesus' assimilation to Moses at the expense of his assimilation to God.

I argued in §5.7.9 that Mark 5:21-43 owed its intercalated structure to a typological use of 2 Kgs 4:18-37. Deborah Krause also argues that Mark 11:12-25 owes its intercalated structure to Hosea 9:10-17 (see §7.2.3).[3] If we accept that there are two typologically formed and

[3] Krause, 'Narrated Prophecy in Mark 11.12-21: The Divine Authorization of Judgement'.

motivated intercalated-narratives in Mark this might prompt a re-examination of the other Markan intercalations and whether or not they may also have a scriptural explanation.[4]

Both Bauckham and Kirk approach NT Christology via the formation of a category from early Jewish literature with a view to analysing the NT documents against that category. While opposing each other's results they are nonetheless, methodologically similar. This could be termed a *taxonomic* approach to Christology. That is, the paradigms they produce are then used to classify the NT data as if a biologist was seeking to understand whether a newly discovered animal was a mammal or bird. While in this study I have approached their arguments on their own terms, I would suggest that at a more fundamental methodological level their method is flawed. The taxonomic approach not only assumes that in the diversity of Jewish literature there is some essential common theological core,[5] but that such a core would be connected to our much later theological concerns. By extension, it also makes unwarranted assumptions about early Jewish epistemology,[6] and human cognitive processes.[7] There is a need for a critical review of these methods and the assumptions they carry. Equally,

[4] Cf. Edwards, 'Markan Sandwiches'.

[5] Against this, see Robert A. Kraft, 'The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity', in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. John C. Reeves, SBLEJL 6 (Atlanta, Geo.: Scholars Press, 1994), 55–86; Jonathan Z. Smith, 'Fences and Neighbours: Some Contours of Early Judaism', in *Approaches to Ancient Judaisms: Theory and Practice*, ed. William Scott Green, vol. 2, Brown Judaic Studies 1 (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1980), 1–15.

[6] See, e.g., Boomershine, 'Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages'; Ian W. Scott, 'Epistemology and Social Conflict in Jubilees and Aristeas', in *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2008), 195–214; Ian W. Scott, *Paul's Way of Knowing* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2009); Annette Yoshiko Reed, 'Beyond Revealed Wisdom and Apocalyptic Epistemology: Early Christian Transformations of Enochic Traditions about Knowledge', in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, vol. Volume 1: Thematic Studies, LNTS 391 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 138–64; Shane Berg, 'Religious Epistemology and the History of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community', in *The 'Other' in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*, ed. Daniel C. Harlow et al. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011).

[7] On this see, inter alia, Rosch, 'Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories'; George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Newsom, 'Spying out the Land'; Shiveley, 'Recognizing Penguins'.

we need new ways of analysing, categorising and comparing presentations of divinity and Christology, which are more appropriate for the NT texts and their milieu.

As a Christian myself, one concern stimulating this research is the contemporary church's interpretation of scripture in the face of an uncertain and changing world. Before commencing my PhD studies I led a discussion with a group of Baptist pastors around the ways in which the NT interpreted passages from the Hebrew Bible and the ways in which we, as Christian ministers, felt able to do so. With little variation, these preachers admitted they did not feel able to interpret or preach the Bible in the same way that the NT authors. In my view, this group was representative of many whose theological education did not open up the scriptures but shut them off within a literalist Biblicist hermeneutic. I would hope this study could contribute to a greater recognition of the NT's hermeneutics, which would ultimately better resource our churches for the challenges we are facing and will face. As we become more confident of how the NT authors approached the scriptures in the light of Christ, we may become more confident in imitating the Christo-centrism, spirituality, and creativity of their exegesis.

### §9.3 Final Reflection

The Gospel of Mark, neglected over the centuries, is more recently recognised by critical scholarship as the fountainhead of the Gospel tradition and a masterpiece of spiritual insight and literary skill in its own right. I hope this study adds to the picture of Mark as a work of literary and theological significance, deeply connected to the scriptures and traditions of Judaism, but also wrestling profoundly with the revelation of God in Christ.

Mark's Gospel does not describe Jesus as would a dogmatist or systematic theologian. Mark's Jesus resists categories and confounds expectations. Without asserting pre-existence or discussing ontology, Mark manifests Jesus' divinity in action, in his narrative role. Is this "functional" divinity really a lesser form of divinity to the "divine identity" found in John 1, 1 Cor 8:6 or Col 1:15-20? I do not think so. The one whom John calls "the *Logos* made flesh", Mark portrays as the God of the scriptures in human form. That Mark does not speak to our Christological questions is no deficiency. Mark reminds us that our theological terms and categories are the feeble grasping of human minds to comprehend the ineffable divine, the mystery of God in Christ, and we need to hold them lightly. Perhaps the fear and confusion of

the disciples in Mark 4:41 is no fault of theirs after all, but the appropriate response of mortal flesh in the presence of Israel's Lord, "the God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land."

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